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THE MASSACHVSETTS MAGAZINE

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The Massachusetts Magazine.

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COUNT RUMFORD WHOSE MONUMENT IS PROPOSED FOR BOSTON COMMON

A COPY OF THE GAINSBORO PORTRAIT

THOMPSON, IN CONNECTICUT

By C. Crozat Converse.

There are many towns in the United States called Thompson, but one is preeminent—that in Connecticut—because of its association with the family of Count Rumford, whose family-name it bears.

His real greatness already is historic, hence a portrait of him adorns the second volume of the County History of Massachusetts. The house of his grand-mother, Converse, at Woburn, Massachusetts—now bought and kept as a Rumford monument—is one of Woburn's show-places.

Here is a bit of Thompson-family biography:

Edward Conyers, founder, of Woburn, Mass., died in 1663. His daughter Mary married, in 1643, Simon, son of James Thompson, of England, who settled in Woburn in 1640. Simon died in 1658, leaving a large part of his estate to his wife, her father Edward, and her brothers. James and Mary Conyers-Thompson left a son Jonathan, whose son Ebenezer married Hannah Converse, whose son Benjamin became distinguished as Sir Benjamin Thompson and Count Rumford. Edward Conyers' son Samuel, who was, with his father a legatee of Simon Thompson, removed

in 1710 to Killingly, Conn., and became the first settler of Thompson, named so in honor of James Thompson.

This excerpt is from a newspaper report concerning the Royal Society of England:

"Nor must the name be forgotten of that Woburn, Mass., boy, Benjamin Thompson, who, after being a salesman in a store at Boston, school teacher at Bradford on the Merrimac, Major on the staff of Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, then Under Secretary of State in England, General in the English Army, knighted by George III, Minister of War, and Grand Chamberlain and Field Marshal of the King of Bavaria, and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, was elected a member of the Royal Society, founded in that capacity the Royal Institution of England, and died as the husband of the widow of Lavoisier, the celebrated French chemist.

His memory is preserved in this land of his birth by the Rumford Professorship of Harvard University. The titles of nobility conferred upon him by the Emperor of Germany and by the King of Bavaria were those of Count Rumford.

Another memorial of his busy life may be found in the Salvation Army. For it was he who as Minister of State in Bavaria devised and initiated that remarkable system of dealing with pauperism which was revived more than half a century later by "General," the Rev. William Booth, with such wonderful success.

It was, indeed, from reading about all that Sir Benjamin Thompson had managed to accomplish in Bavaria in dealing with the problem of pauperism that Gen. Booth derived his inspeiration for the foundation of the Salvation Army."

Certain members of the Converse family intend the erection of a copy of the Rumford statue in Munich to their distinguished relative, on Boston Common, believing that his career, under the most discouraging circumstances, may encourage other aspiring Americans.

The writer has this matter in hand, and would be glad to have the active cooperation of all persons whom this magazine reaches, who are interested in it.

Hereunto is a facsimile of the Patent of Nobility, approved by King George III, of Great Britain and of an outograph letter by Count Rumford to his publishers. A copy of the Gainsborough portrait of Count Rumford is given herewith, the original of which is owned by E. C. Converse, of Greenwich, Conn.

MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS.
MICHIGAN SERIES.

By Charles A. Flagg

Sikes, Orrento Montague, b. Westhampton, 1815; set. Mich., 1837. Berrien Hist., 485.

——Zenas, b. Westhampton; set. Mich., 1837. Berrien Hist., 478.

Silcox, *Mrs.* E., set. Mich., 1854. Wayne Chron., 84.

Silliman, Amanda A. m. 1850? John Doud of O. Newaygo, 223.

Simmons, Ephraim, set. N. Y., 1800? Clinton Port., 524.

—— I., set. Mich., 1824. Wayne Chron., 75.

—— Joshua, b. Dighton, 1801; set. N. Y., 1801, Mich., 1824 or 1825. Oakland Biog., 411; Oakland Hist., 332; Oakland Port., 208, 602.

Simons, Marion, of Salem; b. 1850? m. Robert W. Lonsdale of Mich. Mecosta, 497.

Sines, Isaac, b. Berkshire, 1798; set. Mich., 1824. Washtenaw Hist., 506.

Sizer, Adelia S., Sheffield, 1830; m. 1849 Henry A. Angell of Mich. Lenawee Illus., 341; Lenawee Port., 393.

—— Charles F., b. Chester, 1833; set. Mich., 1859. Lenawee Illus., 87.

—— Emma I., b. Lee, 1853; m. 1875 Walter S. Westerman of Mich. Lenawee Illus., 86.

Skinner, Elias, b. Shelburne; set. N. Y. Genesee Hist., 351.

—— Hannah, m. 1830? Stillman Montague of N. Y. Branch Twent., 717.

—— Harriet, of Williamstown; b. 1795? m. Austin E. Wing of Mich. Monroe, 151.

—— Mary H., b. Roxbury, 1807; m. 1824 Ebenezer Davis of Mass., N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 131.

Slade, Benjamin, b. Dartmouth, 1782; set. N. Y., Mich., 1835. Lenawee Hist. II, 275.

—— Lavina D., b. Chelsea; m. 1855 John Whittemore of Mass. and Mich. Kent, 1167.

—— Phebe, b. Fall River; m. 1804 John Hoxie of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 1217.

Slade, Sarah, b. Uxbridge, m. 1850? John Foss of Conn. and R. I. Bay Gansser, 698.

Slater, Leonard, b. Worcester, 1802; set. Mich., 1826 or 1827. Grand Rapids Hist., 78; Grand Rapids Lowell, 51; Kalamazoo Hist., 286; Kent, 192, 800.

Slayton, Reuben, b. 1769; set. N. Y. Lenawee Port., 431.

——Russell, b. Worcester, 1798; set. N. Y., 1820, Mich., 1845 or 1846. Grand Rapids City, 1015; Kent, 773.

Sloan, James, b. Townsend; set. Vt., 1800? Lenawee Hist. II, 241.

—— Thomas, set. N. Y., 1810? Gratiot, 274.

Slocum, Benjamin, b. 1786; set. N. Y., 1810, Mich., 1825. Lenawee Hist., II, 142.

—— Smith, b. Berkshire Co., 1787; set. N. Y., 1816. Hillsdale Hist., 199.

Slosson, Ozias J., b. Great Barrington, 1805; set. N. Y., Mich., 1856. Osceola, 223.

Smalley, Rufus, set. N. Y., 1790? Vt. Jackson Port., 232.

Smead, Elizabeth, b. 1817; m. 1842 Ebenezer Fisk of Mich. Lenawee Port., 335.

——Lavina, m. 1833 John A. Hawks of Mich. Lenawee Port., 255.

——Rufus, b. Montague or Sheburne, 1757; set. N. Y., 1800? Mich., 1834. Lenawee Hist., I, 337; Lenawee Illus., 124; Lenawee Port., 255, 335, 434.

SMEDLEY, Lois, m. 1830? John B. Clark of Mich. Clinton Port., 651.

—— Sallie, m. 1830? Silas O. Hunter of N. Y. Muskegon Port., 267.

SMITH, ——— b. Ashfield, Apr. 6, 1770; set. N. Y., 1812. Macomb Hist., 762.

——— ———b. Adams, 1783; m. John Tibbits of N. Y. and Mich. Branch Port., 629.

—— Achsah, b. Chicopee; m. 1800? Levi Chapin of N. Y. and Mich. Ingham Hist., 317.

—— Alice, b. Salem; m. James Marble of Ind. Berrien Port., 707.

SMITH, Asa, set. Mich., 1854. Macomb Hist., 712.

—— Asa L., b. Boston, 1792; set. Mich., 1825? Washtenaw Hist., 894, 1040.

—— Ashley, set. N. Y., 1828. Gratiot, 683.

——Austin, of Hampden Co., bought land in Mich., 1814. Allegan Hist., 293.

—— Chipman, b. Ashfield, 1817; set. Mich., 1875. Washtenaw Hist., 1271.

—— Clarissa, b. 1802; m. 1827 James B. Arms of Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 1451.

—— Daniel, b. 1790? set. N. Y., 1810? Washtenaw Port., 389.

—— David B., b. Worcester Co., 1836; set. Mich., 1842. Saginaw Hist., 831.

—— Dean Uriel, b. Buckland; set. N. Y., 1820? Macomb Hist., 883.

—— Dollie, of Shrewsbury; m. 1787 William Hobart of Mass. and N. Y. Jackson Port., 604.

—— Eaton, set. N. Y., 1815? Mich., 1840? O. Jackson Port., 222.

—— Edward, b. Walpole, 1830; set. Mich., 1842. Saginaw Port., 706.

—— Edward C., of Hadley; set. N. Y., 1844; d. 1847. Oakland Biog., 426.

—— Elijah, b. Ware, 1772; set. Vt., N. Y., Mich. Kalamazoo Hist., 423.

——Elisha, b. Amherst; set. Mich., 1836. St. Clair, 683.

—— Elizabeth, m. 1856 John B. Dumont of Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 728.

—— Emeline P., m. 1857 George W. Carlton, of Mich. St. Clair, 671.

—— Ephraim, Revolutionary soldier, set. Conn., 1800? N. Y. Clinton Port., 809.

—— Eugene, b. Amherst, 1821; set. Mich., 1836. St. Clair, 683.

SMITH, Eunice, m. 1800? Joshua Parmalee of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 766.

—— Ezekiel, set. Vt., 1788, N. Y. Lansing, 160.

—— George H., of N. Amherst; set. Mich., 1837. Calhoun, 137; Jackson Port., 451.

—— Gilbert, set. N. Y., 1845? Midland, 288.

—— Hannah, b. N. Adams, 1783; m. Gideon Ramsdell of Mass and N. Y. Lenawee Hist. I, 254; Lenawee Port., 637.

——Henry, b. Worcester, 1798; set. N. Y., 1803, Mich., 1833. Lenawee Illus., 272.

—— Henry O., b. Hatfield, 1817; set. Mich., 1852. Macomb Hist., 672

—— Jabez, b. 1766; set. Canada, 1800? Jackson Hist., 1019.

—— Jane, b. 1767; m. Nathan Ball of Vt. and N. Y. Lenawee Port., 986.

—— Laura, b. 1805? m. Jeremiah Holmes of N. Y. Midland, 208.

—— Levi Lincoln, b. Whately, 1826; set. N. Y., Mich., 1866. Gratiot, 683.

——Lorenza S., m. 1859 John McCurdy of Mich. Jackson Port., 451.

—— Lyman B., set. Mich., 1836. Lake Huron, 143.

—— Martin, set. N. Y., 1830? Kalamazoo Port., 449.

—— Mary, m. 1825? Jonathan White of N. Y., Ill. and O. Genesee Port., 464.

—— Mary, m. 1850? Augustus Lilley of Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 954.

—— Mathias, b. Martha's Vineyard; soldier in French and Indian war; set. Me. Berrien Port, 466, 528.

SMITH, Nathaniel, set. N. Y., Mich., 1790? Lenawee Port., 1120.

—— Nicholas, of Stockbridge; set. N. Y. 1789. Shiawassee, 529.

—— Obed, b. Hawley, 1796; set. N. Y., 1814, Ill., 1838, Mich., 1843. Lake Huron, 209.

—— Oliver M., of Northfield; set. N. Y., Vt. Jackson Hist., 727.

—— Phebe, b. Adams, 1772; m. Darius Comstock of Mass., N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. I, 370.

—— Reuben R., set. Mich., 1835. Macomb Past, 105.

——Ruth, m. 1825? Aruna Fox of O. Clinton Port., 864.

—— Sallie, b. 1790; m. Sylvester Shedd of Mich. Berrien Port., 549; Berrien Twent., 882.

—— Samuel, b. Acton; set. Mich., 1829. Branch Hist., 224.

—— Samuel, set. N. Y., 1835? Kent, 1035.

—— Samuel E., of Colerain; set. Mich., 1835. Hillsdale Hist., 151.

—— Seth, b. Dighton, 1825; set. N. Y., Mich., 1863. Macomb Hist., 712.

—— Stephen, set. N. Y., 1800? Jackson Hist., 928.

—— Thomas, set. O., 1830? Kalamazoo Port., 739.

—— Wanton, b. Berkshire Co., 1776; set. N. Y., 1783. Lenawee Illus., 217; Lenawee Port., 579.

—— William, b. Dalton, 1794 ;set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1837. Lenawee Hist. II, 289.

—— William, b. Worcester Co., 1800; set. Mich., 1842. Saginaw Hist., 831; Saginaw Port., 684, 706.

—— William, Jr., b. Worcester Co., 1838; set. Mich., 1842. Saginaw Port., 684.

—— William C., b. Dalton; set N. Y., Mich., 1837 Hillsdale Port., 877.

SNOW, Alonzo, b. 1810 set. N. Y. 1820, Mich., 1832. Oakland Port., 736.

—— Ansel, b. Bridgewater, 1784; set. Mich., 1837. Kalamazoo Hist., 415; Kalamazoo Port., 866.

SMITH, Elizabeth, b. Boston; m. 1841 Lewis C. Gesler of Mich. Ionia Port., 319.

—— Sparrow, set. O., 1817. Detroit, 1269; Wayne Land., 820.

—— William W. b. Millbury, 1837; set. Mich., 1860. Jackson Hist., 728.

SOULE, John, b. 1787 or 1788; set. N. Y., 1810? Mich., 1825. Macomb Hist., between 672 and 710, also 840.

—— Marcia, m. 1835? David Crapo of O. and Mich.. Ionia Port., 736.

SOUTHWICK, David, set. N. Y., 1800. Kalamazoo Port., 738.

SOUTHWORTH, James B., b. Hancock, 1816; set. N. Y., 1822, Mich., 1849. Branch Twent., 841.

—— Norman, of Hancock; set. N. Y., 1822, Mich., 1850? Branch Twent., 805, 841.

—— Sarah I., b. Hancock, 1824; m. 1845 Arteman H. Legg of N. Y. and Mich. Branch Twent., 804.

SPAFFORD, Thomas L., b. Dalton, 1797; set. N. Y., 1813, Mich., 1836. Washtenaw Hist., 1351.

SPARKS, Austin, b. Sheffield, 1798; set. N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 775.

—— Mary, m. 1830? Lewman Fox of N. Y. Kalamazoo Port., 514.

SPAULDING, Charles A., b. Middlebury, 1839; set. Mich., 1845. Branch Port., 289.

—— Ephraim, b. Townsend, 1801; set. Vt., Mich., 1845. Branch Port., 290.

SPEAR, Sally, b. 1810? m. James Benjamin of N. Y. Genesee Port., 801.

SPENCER, Elias T., b. Middlefield, 1815; set. O., 1840? Muskegon Port., 556.

—— Grove, b. 1803; set. Mich., 1835? d. 1887. Washtenaw Hist., 1231; Washtenaw Port., 475.

—— Ralph H., b. Tyringham, 1854; set Mich., 1879. Grand Rapids Hist., 222; Grand Rapids Lowell, 713.

SPERRY, Elizabeth, m. 1820? Ebenezer Andrews of N. Y. Ionia Port., 718.

—— Pamelia., m. 1815? Patrick Gibbins of Mass. Jackson Hist., 1141.

—— S. H. b. Berkshire Co., 1816; set. Mich., 1845. Jackson Hist., 906.

SPICER, Amos, b. Groton; set. Mich., 1836. Ingham Hist., 478, 480.

SPOONER Allen P., b. 1802; set. N. Y., 1830? Kent, 1272.

SPRAGUE, Annie E., b. Great Barrington, 1849; m. 1870 Peter W. Carpenter of Mich. Washtenaw Port., 289.

—— Elvin L., b. Gill, 1830; set. Mich., 1836. Northern M., 404; Traverse, 64.

—— Erastus, b. 1806; set. N. Y., 1810? Mich., 1852. Clinton Past., 27.

—— James, set. N. Y., 1810. Clinton Past., 27.

—— Mary, m. 1800? Jonathan Howland of N. Y. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 513.

—— Nancy., b. 1794; m. 1810? James Hiscock of Pa. and Mich., Washtenaw Past, 481; Washtenaw Port., 265.

SPROUT, Susan, m. 1813 Martin Townsend of N. Y. Branch Port., 491.

SQUIRES, Nancy M., m. 1835? Benjamin Davies. Kent, 683.

STACY, Consider H., b. New Salem; set. N. Y., 1814. Lenawee Hist. I, 517; Lenawee Port., 360.

—— Harriet F., of Concord; m. 1865 Herman DeForrest of Mass. and Mich. Wayne Land., appendix, 29.

STAFFORD, Henry H., b. Boston, 1833; set. Mich., 1856. Northern P., 633.

—— T. L., b. 1797; set. Mich., 1837. Washtenaw Hist., 507.

STANLEY, Lois, m. 1790? Daniel Olds of Mass., O. and Mich. Jackson Port., 428.

STANTON, Hannah, b. 1807; m. Russel G. May of N. Y. and Mich. Cass Twent., 440.

STARKWEATHER, Anna, b. Williamstown, 1789; m. Gurdon Hovey of N. Y. and Mich. Macomb Hist., 826.

STEADMAN, Matilda, m. 1820? Aretas Pierce of N. Y. Clinton Port., 832.

—— Thomas, set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1858. Ionia Port., 697.

STEARNS, Alanson, b. Goshen, 1800; set. Mich., 1854. Muskegon Port., 176.

STEARNS, Edwin b. Lanesboro, 1818; set. Mich., 1834. Jackson Hist., 814.

—— Ezra, of Pittsfield, b. 1836; set. Mich., 1854 or 1855. Muskegon Hist., 116; Muskegon Port., 176.

—— Hannah, m. Eri Whelan, of N. Y. and Mich.; d. 1865. Branch Port., 362.

—— Isaac H., b. Pittsfield, 1800? set. Vt., N. Y., 1820. Clinton Port., 341.

—— James H. b. Berkshire Co., 1835; set. Mich., 1851. Jackson Hist., 931.

—— Royal, b. Upton; set. N. Y., 1810? Branch Twent., 674.

STEBBINS, Bliss, b. Wilbraham, 1777; set. Vt., 1805. Lenawee Hist. I, 493; Lenawee Illus., 225.

—— Caroline, of Springfield; m. 1816 Wolcott Lawrence of Mich. Monroe, 244.

—— Chauncy M., b. 1807; set. Mich., 1832? Ionia Port., 312.

—— Dimmis, m. 1825? Lyman Webster of Mass. and Mich. Clinton Port., 596, 971; Gratiot, 499.

—— Dorothy, of Deerfield; m. 1770? Lawrence Kemp, Sr. Northern P., 473.

—— Gaius P., b. 1805; set. N. Y., 1835? Kent, 1344.

—— Louisa, m. 1830? Rufus Densmore of Mich. Gratiot, 491.

—— Mary, b. 1776; m. Wilson White of N. Y. Jackson Port., 351.

—— Mary F. b. Worcester, 1848; m. 1872 Hamilton S. McMaster. Berrien Port., 121; Cass Twent., 715.

—— William, b. Springfield, 1795; set. N. Y. Gratiot, 548.

STEELE, Aurelia, b. Blandford, 1800; m. Levi Noble of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 335.

STEVENS, Abigail, b. Salibury; m. 1800? Enoch Fifield of Mass., Vt. and Mich. Jackson Hist., 626; Jackson Port., 747.

—— Betsey, b. 1818; m. William Castle of Mich. Clinton Past., 204.

—— Charles B., b. Centerville, 1858; set. Mich., 1885? Wayne Land., appendix, 89.

STEVENS, George, b. Worcester, 1831; set. Mich., 1839. Hillsdale Hist., 229.

—— Israel, set. N. Y., 1820? Lenawee Port., 661.

—— Joseph, b. 1790; set. Mich., 1830? Clinton Past, 204.

—— Mary Ann, b. 1819; m. George Peters of N. Y. Newaygo, 418, 475.

—— Ransom F., b. Lee, 1820; set. O., 1831, Mich. Kent, 629.

—— Samuel, b. Worcester Co., 1793; set. Mich. 1838. Hillsdale Hist., 229.

——Samuel, set. N. Y., 1830? Muskegon Port., 317.

—— Silas, b. Southwick, 1755; set. N. Y. Berrien Port., 406.

—— Warren, b. Cheshire, 1809; set. N. Y., Mich., 1829. Hillsdale Port., 264.

—— William W., b. Worcester Co., 1836; set. O., 1840? Mich., 1854. Clinton Port., 662.

STEWARD,, Jabez, b. Paxton, 1770; set. N. Y., 1810. Hillsdale Hist., 197.

STEWART, Anna, b. 1785? m. John C. Bell of O. Gratiot, 682.

—— Harvey, set. N. Y., Mich., 1811. St. Clair, 717.

—— Ira, set. N. Y., Mich., 1830? Lenawee Port., 1111.

(To be Continued)

REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

By Judge Francis M. Thompson of Greenfield, Massachusetts

Including His Narrative of Three Years in the New West, During Which He Took in 1862 a 3000-mile Trip From St. Louis up the Missouri, and Thence Down the Snake and Columbia Rivers to Portland, and to San Francisco, Returning in 1863.

(Continued from p. 190, Vol. VI.)

was said to be fully armed and thirsting for the life of the first Vigilante who should make his appearance. A party of three were sent to capture him. In mountain parlance, the Vigilantes "got the drop on him," and he surrendered without resistance, but refused to make any confession. A rope was thrown over the limb of a tree, and Graves being properly bound was forcibly mounted behind a Vigilante upon a horse, and when the noose was adjusted he exclaimed, "Good-by, Bill!" and put spur to the animal, and poor Bill was left dangling with a broken neck. The Vigilantes then took up their return ride to Alder Gulch, well satisfied that they had performed their duty as God fearing men, and thankful that in executing their mission, no member of the party had received any injury.

So far as known only one person remained who was suspected as being an active member of Plummer's gang of road agents. The missing man was Bill Hunter, who had by the aid of some guard, who did not believe in his extreme guilt, been allowed to escape through the picket line at Virginia City. It came to the leader of the Vigilantes that he was in hiding far up the Galatin valley. A party of volunteers, although it was mid winter and very cold, rode over the Madison divide, forded the Madison river, and coming to his place of hiding, allayed his suspicions

by claiming to be on a stampede to find Barney Hughes new discovery, they returned to Virginia and made their report. Four Vigilantes were selected to pursue, capture, and execute the robber. The party were caught in a blizzard in the mountains, and one of the men came near drowning while crossing the Madison, but they succeeded in their mission, and Hunter admitted the justice of of their action in his case.

For the present the great work of the Vigilance Committee was finished. Its reorganization and its activities in subsequent years occurred after I had left the country, and of those events I am not qualified to write. No person whose life has been passed under the protection of civil law, administered by just and upright judges can ever fully realize the chaotic condition of affairs as they existed in the territory in question, before the organization of the Vigilance Committee. No man's property was for a moment safe, and no person's life was weighed when the robbers thought it necessary to take it, in order to get possession of his property No prophet could foretell what a day would bring forth. Had I not frankly—perhaps foolishly, it might have been thought—told Dr. Howard, Lowry and Romaine, the exact condition of my finances as I rode with them to Bannack there is no doubt in my mind but that my bones would now be mouldering on the banks of the Deer Lodge or Big Hole. At the time the Vigilantes were organized, the country was terrorized beyond all conception. The remedy for this state of affairs was terrible and bloody, but it was most effectual, and in no other way could the incubus be removed. It seemed almost providential that the punishment dealt out by the committee should have been fully carried out without the loss of any life but that of George Copley, and the wounding of Smith Ball by the Mexican. Jo Pizanthia. Mr. Copley was a native of Vermont, of pleasing and gentle manners, faithful to every duty and an excellent citizen. His sudden death was greatly lamented and quickly avenged. He was the only deputy sheriff holding under Plummer who was not a member of his gang.

Chief Justice H. L. Hosmer in his charge to the first grand jury organized in Montana, Dec. 5, 1864, said:—

"Gentlemen of the Jury: The assemblage of a grand jury in this new Territory affords an opportunity for a casual survey of the interests committed to its charge. The cause of justice hitherto deprived of the in-

tervention of regularly organized courts, has been temporarily subserved by voluntary tribunals of the people, partaking more of the nature of self-defense than the comprehensive principles of the common law. It is no part of the business of this court to find fault with what has been done, but rather in common with all good citizens to laud the transactions of an organization which in the absence of law, assumed the delicate and responsible office of purging society of all offenders against its peace, happiness, and safety.

"Such societies originating in necessity have been in communities without law, and in which the penalties of the laws were not in proporton to the criminality of the offence. Their adaption to the necessities of new settlements has obtained for them an approbation so universal that they are the first measures resorted to by well intentioned men to free themselves of that vile class of adventurers, which infest all unorganized communities, for the purpose of fraud, robbery, and murder. In no part of our country have they labored more efficiently than here. Nowhere else did they enter upon duties amid greater embarrassments. It was questionable even, when they commenced, whether they were numerically equal to the task. The sources of official power had been monopolized by the very class which preyed upon society. The greatest villain of them all, with hands reeking with the blood of numerous victims was the principal ministerial officer of the territory and had at his beck a band of wretches who had become hardened in the bloody trade, years before they came here to practice it.

In this condition of affairs there could be but one of two courses to pursue; to hang the offenders or submit to their authority and give the territory over to misrule and murder. Happily the former course prevailed and the summary punishment visited upon the few, frightened the survivors from the territory and restored order and safety."

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW STATE.

After the termination of the reign of terrior, white winged peace settled upon the gulches, mining camps and settlements of the territory, and busy men began to think of other things than robbery and murder and the terrible work done by the Vigilance committee. When I had decided to take my goods to Bannack and had made ready a store for their reception, I received an invitation from Col. Darius H. Hunkins to build him a three room log house, at Marysville. Col Hunkins had formerly been a railroad contractor, his home being in Galena, Ill. He came up the Missouri on the Emilie with the avowed purpose of getting as far as possible from the seat of war, and shipped up a large stock of clothing that he might have some business. He never opened a store, and I purchased his goods. He paid me five dollars per day while building his house, the timber for which was hauled from the mountains some fourteen miles up the Grasshopper. He was much pleased with his house when it was finished.

Once more the Miner's court, accountable to none but the people, resumed jurisdiction of all matters in dispute, and if its business was not accomplished with all the dignity and formality of courts of justice in the eastern states, the decision of its judges was nearly always popular, and satisfied the people for whose benefit the court was established

One day when on the street in Bannack, to my surprise I heard my name called three times by an officer, and answering the summons I entered a cabin in which I found Judge Burchett holding a session of the Miners' court. I was called to act as a juryman on a civil action. For some reason only known to the others on the panel I was chosen foreman. After hearing the evidence, the common sense rulings of the judge on law points, and the arguments of the learned counsel, the judge gave the jury a laconic charge and was about to submit the case, when one of the jury, more used to the local practice than the foreman, suggested to

the court that the case had been a peculiarly dry one, and that to relieve the monotony each of the litigants be ordered to pay one-half the cost of liquid refreshments for the court, officers, lawyers and jury. The suggestion met the hearty approval of the court and in due time the jury retired, refreshed, and took up the consideration of the case. After a short conference it appeared that the jury were agreed in finding for the plaintiff, and I said, "Then gentlemen, I understand that we find for the plaintiff, Richard Joy." "What's that?" cried one. "Is Joy the plaintiff? Hell, no! I don't find for Joy! I'm for Peters! He's my friend!" and for Peters he remained and after four hours without more refreshments that jury was discharged, not being able to agree with Peter's friend.

A half a century ago, the courts of Ohio did not compare in dignity and formality with those of Massachusetts, and yet chief justice Edgerton, an old practitioner in the Ohio courts was somewhat astonished at what occurred in the Miners' court of Bannack. His daughter, Mrs. Plassman, writes, "Shortly after arriving at Bannack my father strolled up Main street see the town, and coming to a building where a Miners' court was in session he went in. The judge seeing that he was a stranger, (and suspecting that he was the new chief justice of Idaho) invited him to the bench. The trial of the case proceeded, but not for long, it being interrupted by the suggestion by some of the parties that it was time for liquid refreshments. The court and every one present approving the suggestion an old darky (Frank Pope) was dispatched to a neighboring saloon for whiskey. On his return the court took a recess and a drink—several of them, in fact. When the supply was exhausted and the court and those in attendance upon it were sufficiently stimulated, the trial went on, only to meet with a similar interruption in the course of a half hour or so."

This was the iniation of the new chief justice into the far western methods of legal proceedure.

Judge Edgerton had not been in Idaho territory more than three months before a suggestion was made that a new territory be organized from portions of eastern Idaho and western Dakota. Meetings were held at Virginia City and at Bannack, two thousand dollars was raised by subscription, and Judge Edgerton who had recently been a member of Congress, was induced to go to Washington and secure if possible the

legislation necessary to work out this new scheme. The matter had been delayed by the operations for the extinction of Plummer's band of road agents. It was the middle of January, 1864, before the Judge was able to start for Washington, and the prospect of a winter trip to Salt Lake and overland, was not to be anticipated with pleasure. Every respectable man in the territory possessed more or less influence with the member of Congress from his old home district, and nearly every one used all the means at his command to promote the scheme which Judge Edgerton represented. Langford and Hauser and some others were already in Washington, and worked with good effect with the judge, when he arrived. Large quantities of gold in dust, ingots and nuggets, was exhibited in the halls of Congress, and then turned over to various banks to be placed to the credit of the business men of the mountains who owned it. Thanks to the Vigilantes, there was no fear of the road agents during its transportation. By a previous arrangement with the judge, I left Bannack on the 22nd of February for Salt Lake and the east, in company with Judge W. B. Dance and others. It happened that a few days before starting, in retorting a lot of gold which had been gathered by quicksilver, over a blacksmith's fire, that the crucible broke and the gold ran down into the cinders, making when congealed, a most beautiful spangle of the value of $1,500. This wonderful specimen Col. Hunkins purchased of me and requested that after I had exhibited it at Washington and at my home in Massachusetts, that I should send it to his daughter in Galena, Ill., for her to use as a mantel ornament.

Our journey to Salt Lake was made on horseback, and we drove some pack animals and spare horses. We slept in a cabin the first night out on our four hundred-mile trip, but not again until we reached Salt Lake city. If the night was very cold and windy, we built some little protection of brush to cover our heads as an ostrich is said to run his head in the sand, but otherwise our bodies were wrapped in our blankets and we lay on the ground with our feet converging toward the camp fire. We were fortunate enough to be able to cross the Snake river on the ice, the ludicrous thing being the fact that the pack mules would make no effort to stand upon the glare ice, and we had to attach lariats to them and snake them over like a sled. Two other large fast flowing streams we were

obliged to cross by swimming. Stripping, and swimming an icy stream in mid winter cannot be recommended as an agreeable diversion at the best, but what made our passage much worse was, the streams were frozen out to the swift water which ran like a mill race in the centre of the river. One of our bravest fellows swam over taking with him a long lariat. Others followed, using the lariat for safety. After gathering wood and building a large fire, we attached our end of the lariat to a pack mule, and pushing him to the edge of the ice he was plumped in and the men helped him upon the ice on the opposite side, when he was towed to it. In this manner each animal was towed over, and our bedding was rolled in an elk skin and was taken over without getting wet to any extent. It is candidly admitted that these proceedings were a little trying to both man and beast. Even the animals were willing to stand upon the smoky side of a big camp fire. Two nights of this journey we were compelled to camp in deep snow in the mountains, with no feed for the horses. I remember waking one morning with a feeling of unusual comfort and warmth, to find that the whole camp was buried under about eighteen inches of fresh snow. We were all glad to see the glistening waters of the great Salt Lake ,and took up our quarters at the Sale Lake House, one of whose landladies was a daughter of Brigham Young. The long drawn out trip from Salt Lake to Atchison, by the Overland stage was vexatious and trying. We awoke one morning to find that we had been sleeping in a coach since midnight, in front of a home station, because the driver who had brought us there, had neglected to fully awake the driver who was to take us forward. Although the morning was cold and frosty, there was one driver on the old Overland who was made warm, for I never heard Judge Dance wax more eloquent than on this occasion. The Indians were reported wicked all along the Platte, and we rode with heavy dragoon pistols lying in our laps ready for instant use. Hundreds of horses had been stolen along the line, and transportation was badly demoralized, but it was this or none, and we did the best we could.

When we arrived at St. Louis, dressed in moccasins and all our mountain toggery, we created quite a sensation at the Leland and the next morning the papers announced the arrival of a distinguished party from the mountains, loaded with gold. Three of our party pushed on imme-

diately to Washington, where we at once commenced lobbying for the passage of the bill for the organization of Montana Territory. Being with Judge Edgerton, admitted to the floor of the House, we, or at least our gold nugget, became the centre of attraction to scores of the members and officials of the House, and several senators came over to see the remarkable specimen, which all thought was as nature had made it. We improved our opportunity to impress upon the members the necessity of the immediate organization of the new Territory. I was much aided by Hon. William B. Washburn, member from my home district in Massachusetts, and Mr. Upson from Michigan, a valued friend. In the discussion of the bill a question arose whether Idaho should retain the Flathead Lake and Bitter Root country, or that it should be included in the new territory. Governor Wallace of Idaho was a broad minded man and gave his assent that the territory in question be included in the new Territory of Montana. When assured that the bill would pass, I signed a petition for the appointment of Sidney Edgerton as governor of the new territory, and went to New York, and my old home in Massachusetts. It was almost unanimously the desire of the Union men of the mountains, that Mr. Edgerton should receive the appointment as governor, and all then in the east worked together for that purpose.

Mrs. Plassman writing of this time says, "Whether my father's ultimate appointment to the position was the result of his last visit to Mr. Lincoln, will never be known, but this is his account of the visit he made and the story he told."

"When the division bill passed, I went to the White House to make my farewell visit, as I had been in Washington for some time and was anxious to get home. On my way there, a gentleman told me that a senator had filed a protest against my appointment as governor. On meeting the President I asked him if this report was true, and he said that it was. I inquired if any charges had been made against me. He said, none, but that I had called the senator a liar. He insisted that it was the truth, and if he (Mr. Lincoln) chose to appoint some one of the other applicants, it would be satisfactory. As for me, I should return home and go to mining, as Dorsheimer kept tavern." "Dorsheimer!" exclaimed Mr. Lincoln. "Why I knew Dorsheimer! What was the story?" "Why Dor-

sheimer attended a convention at Utica hoping to obtain the nomination as Canal Commissioner. He was defeated, and rising in his seat, said, 'Shentlemen, I goes back to Puffalo and keeps tavern, like hell.' I left Mr. Lincoln laughing heartily at the story, and it was the last time I ever saw him. I did not hear of my appointment until I reached Salt Lake city.

During Mr. Edgerton's absence in the east, the historic stork alighted at the gubernatorial log cabin upon the banks of the Grasshopper, and left a little blue eyed baby girl, who was named Idaho, and became the idol of the capital town of Montana.

I spent a few happy weeks with my friends in old Massachusetts, but was unable to persuade the lady who afterward became my wife, to return with me to the wilds of the Rocky Mountains. But her parents intrusted to my care her young brother, Lucius Nims, Jr., and when I again departed for the mountains I also took with me my brother, John W. Thompson, and Newcomb Warner of Charlemont, Mass. At St. Louis I purchased a steam saw mill, a small stock of general merchandise and a large supply of Ynkee notions.

I shipped my goods by the steamer Shreveport and Mr. Warner and my brother took passage on the same boat. Needing a little more time in St. Louis young Nims and I overtook the boat at Kansas City, and continued with her to Sioux City, but the river was low and progress so slow, that I thought it best to leave the steamer and take the overland stage, as I had been from my business for a long time.

Finding a transport about to leave for Omaha, Nims and I took passage and were soon trundling rapidly down the Missouri. All went well until we were about opposite the mouth of the Little Sioux river when the boat ran on a sawyer[16] (submerged log) and in less than twenty minutes the rear part of the cabin was under water, while the nose of the boat was high and dry. Putting two life preservers on Nims, who could not swim, we secured our baggage and getting upon the dry part of the boat, thouht we were having pretty fair luck. As the boat was liable to slip into deep water, the captain hurried the passengers to the Nebraska shore, but at our request he took us to the Iowa side of the river. Loaded down with our baggage, we bravely struck out through the brush, snags and

slough holes of the river bottom, to find a stage road which I knew ran along the river bottoms. When nearly exhausted, we reached a clearing and the good motherly woman who presided over the little log cabin we found there gave us a good breakfast.

We learned from her that it was but two miles to Little Sioux, that the mail coal went up the river one day and down the next, and that she thought it went up that day, but that we could find out at the "Pike." While negotiating at the "Pike" for a team to take us to Council Bluffs, a farmer appeared driving in that direction, and we soon closed with him for transportation in his farm wagon. We finally reached Omaha and took passage on the Overland coach for Kearney Junction, distant one hundred and eighty miles. Through the Loup Fork country the Indians were very ugly, and we rode fully prepared for defence a good share of the way. Opposite Kearney we made preparations to cross the Platte river, which is made a hazardous undertaking by reason of the constant shifting of the quick sands in its bed. Where it is safe fording today, it may be trought with much danger on the morrow. The coach was abandoned and the baggage and mail transferred to a long wagon with body set high up above wheels at least six feet in diameter, and with felloes and tires about a foot in width. Into this we climbed, and to it were attached nine pair of cattle. Everything being ready, we rolled forward into the river. Where the sand was hard packed the wagon jarred as though upon a street paved with cobble stones. When we came to the main current one after another of the pairs of oxen were swimming, but as the last yoke began to swim the forward ones struck bottom and the train was straightened out. Water came into the wagon body at the deepest portion of the stream.

At Kearney junction we were compelled to wait a day for the western coach, and were a little dismayed to find upon comparing notes that we had not enough money with us to pay our fares to Salt Lake city. The change in our plans had not received that attention which was demanded; but I had the overland agent telegraph to Oliver & Co., at Salt Lake, who paid our fares there. When the coach arrived from the east, and we informed the passengers of our situation several entire strangers of fered us funds for our journey. The long journey in the Alkaline dust

was most trying and tedious. The coach was full, and Nims and I, had to pile the baggage around the edges of the deck of the coach, and make our bed there. We had a rubber blanket with us which we spread over us at night, but unfortunately lost it before we reached Denver junction, and missed it very much during the rest of our journey. At Salt Lake we made only sufficient stop to gather provisions for our four hundred mile drive over the Oliver line to Bannack. This apology for a stage line was simply a box wagon without springs of any kind, drawn by two mules. The company had no ranches upon the route, but every thirty or forty miles some man was stationed who put up a little wakiup and guarded a few animals, if the Indians kindly left any, so that a change might possibly be made if the team could go no further. Passengers had to furnish their own provisions and do their own cooking.

The season was usually dry, feed for stock very scarce, and all the animals were weak and scrawny. Our principal reliance for food was a boiled ham, and wrap it as we would, we were always compelled to scrape off a covering of alkili dust before we could slice off our meal. It found its way into everything, baggage, clothing, ears, eyes and nostrils. When possible we drove in the night, and it often became necessary for me to grope around on the ground to find the trail, which a stupid driver had strayed from, while asleep. All roads have an ending, and so did the one from Salt Lake to Bannack, and when greeted by friends at the end of our journey, all the little discomforts of a tedious overland trip were forgotten. Reviewing that trip after more than forty years have elapsed, the principal things fixed in my memory are the picturesque view of the great Salt Lake and the Mormon city; the beautiful temple and Brigham Young's house; the clear water flowing in the streets; the great hot spring near by the city; the sublime scenery of the Portneauf canon; the fording of Snake river above old Fort Hall; the magnificent grandeur of the Three Tetons; Market Lake; and the Red Rock canon. Then the country was a wilderness; now, cities, villages, mines, ranches, dominate the scene, and instead of the expected Snake war-whoop at every turn, the shrill steam whistle resounds from bluff to bluff.

During the summer of 1864 nothing more exciting than stampedes to newly discovered "diggins" disturbed the quiet of the people. Immigra-

tion was large, and Alder Gulch was being torn up by ten thousand people. Money was plenty, prices were high, and every willing worker seemed prosperous. The steamer Shreveport found it impossible to reach Fort Benton, and for the second time my freight was put off near Cow Island, hundreds of miles below the point named in the bill of lading. It was October before my messenger met "Baron O'Keefe, of O'Keefe Castle," at Big Hole river, with directions to take the saw mill to Alder gulch and the store goods[19] to Bannack. I had decided to locate my mill at Brown's Gulch, some nine miles from Virginia City, and at the nearest point where I found fine timber. I was compelled to build quite a bit of road in order to get my machinery into Uncle Sam's timber, but I only made the way passable, and awaited the advent of lumber to make bridges and sluices for a road which could be used for hauling lumber. My brother and Mr. Warner were men of much experience in lumbering and they contrived by attaching levers to the truck which carried the engine and boiler to keep it right side up as the cattle snaked it along the side of the gulch. We soon had the mill upon the ground in the midst of an immense pine forest, and digging a ditch along the hill-side we conducted a little stream of water to a sufficient elevation above the boiler for our use. It was a sweet sound as the saw cut its way through the first log we rolled upon the mill carriage. The finest trees were larger than our saw would reach through, and we would run the saw through, and then turn the big log over on the carriage, and running through again the log would be split in halves, and then could be managed. We had a crew of five Yankees, and ran the mill night and day. Lumber delivered at Virginia City or the mines found ready sale at $150. per thousand, and every slab was worth twenty-five cents. I opened a lumber yard at Virginia City, and soon after, the Methodists began the erection of a chapel near the foot of Jackson street, the first Protestant church erected in Montana. I furnished the most of the lumber for the building and they paid what they could, and the balance I felt went toward a good cause. The building was dedicated November 6, 1864 by Rev. A. M. Hough, acting pastor.

Upon his return from Washington in the early spring of 1864, Governor Edgerton was enthusiastically welcomed by the people, and he proceeded as best he could to organize a civil government, according to the

organic act establishing Montana Territory. Communication with the east was at best very slow, and at times suspended almost completely. Nothing had been heard from the person appointed secretary of the new territory. As the time approached which was named in the proclamation, for the assembling of the first legislature and no secretary having put in an appearance, Governor Edgerton asked me to allow him to ask the president to appoint me to that position. A petition was drawn and signed by Governor Edgerton and another signed by prominent citizens, and sent to Governor Doty of Utah for him to endorse and forward to Washington. If this petition ever reached the president, no notice was ever taken of it and the territory had no secretary until the arrival of Thomas Francis Meagher in the summer of 1865. Having travelled in almost every part of the territory I was able to be of assistance to the governor in apportioning the council and representative districts for the election of members of the first legislature. Judge James Tufts was also sent into some parts of the territory to make estimates of the population. In the fall of 1864 the governor issued his proclamation for the election of seven members of the Council and thirteen members of the House of Representatives, and the persons elected were to meet at Bannack early in December. Our county of Beaver Head elected Dr. Erasmus D. Leavitt, a native of Berkshire, Mass. and myself to the Council.

The war of the Rebellion was at its height and party feeling was rampant. The iron clad oath required of the members, excluded all who had served in the confederate armies. It was well known that John H. Rogers, elected to the house from Madison county had been an officer in that service, and that being a man of honor he could not take the prescribed oath. Efforts were made to have the governor omit a portion of the prescribed form, but without avail. When the members met for organization the lines between Southern sympathizers and Union men were tightly drawn. The governor refused to administer the oath until Mr. Rogers had withdrawn, and the excitement was intense. When the members elect of the Council were drawn up to take the oath, Charles S. Bagg a member from Madison county, an intense Southern sympathizer, happened to stand at one end of the line and I at the other. As the governor repeated the solemn words of the prescribed oath, Major Bagg

interspersed words of contempt, "That means obey Abe Lincoln!" "I guess not!" Keeping silence as long as I could at last I said, "Governor, I move that we proceed to take the oath prescribed by law without further interference." Major Bagg immediately stepped over and stood close to me, and the governor again read the oath with no more interruptions. I expected that at its close the Major would attack me, but he said, "Dr. Thompson, I'll make you the best friend I have before the winter is over!" I retorted, "I am your friend now; when you are sober, Major Bagg, you are a gentleman; when you are drunk you are an infernal nuisance!" Ever after, we were good friends. He was a good citizen, and an able man and good lawyer, and I hope overcame his great failing.

Creating a whole code of laws for a new state without the aid of a library or a printing press[21] was not a task of easy performance, and it has always been a wonder to me that we made as much of a success of our work as we did. My associate, Dr. Leavitt, was nominated by the democrats as president of the Council, and I was named by the republicans. It soon became evident that neither of us could be elected unless we voted for ourselves, and a chance occurring, I led our side to the election of Robert Lawrence, of Virginia City, a good war democrat and a fine man and good presiding officer. The three republicans in the Council got satisfactory places on the committees.

Upon reviewing my work in the Council I take most pride and satisfaction in having been chairman of the committee to report upon a design for a territorial seal. Accompanying my report I made a sketch of the proposed seal, from which has come the coat of arms of the great state of Montana, and the original sketch is preserved in the archives of the Historical Society of Montana. I also made the report of the committee appointed to divide the territory into counties, and feel that in making the summits of mountains dividing lines rather than rivers, we did a good thing for the territory.

There was no suitable place in Bannack for the use of the Legislature, but the governor rented a large room over a log store for the use of the representatives, and in order to accommodate the council, I went to Virginia City and purchased a partly built two story log building which a party commenced to build for a hotel, but abandoned to go on the Alder

Gulch stampede. This I cut down to one story and made convenient for our use as a legislative hall. The main room was quite large and when anything of unusual interest was being transacted, the space between the rail and the entrance was often filled with spectators. Thomas D. Pitt, a wealthy and prominent citizen, of English birth, often maltreated the letter "H." When feeling jovial he had a habit of singing with great gusto, the popular ditty, "John Brown's body, &c." When he came to the words, "John Brown's knapsack was number *highty-four*," he always roared it out strenuously, and every one was ready to cheer him, which he took to be an encore, and would repeat. The legislature was at this time granting to stock and ranchmen, the exclusive right to use certain figures and devices as brands for their stock. Thinking to have a little fun, I introduced a bill granting to Tom Pitt the exclusive right to use "No. 84" as his brand, and a certain hour the next day was fixed for its consideration. When the bill came up, many witty remarks were made, which might have been more proper in a mock session than one for regular business. The Council chamber was filled to overflowing, and when finally passed, up jumped Tom Pitt and shouted, "Come boys, adjourn! Come lets liquor!" The motion was put and declared carried, the whole crowd voting "Aye."

I doubt if any other state or territory in the Union in its first legislative session passed an act for the organization of an Historical Society. I think that I may justly claim the credit of initiating and putting through the bill granting a charter for the Historical Society of Montana, and I attended a meeting of the corporators at Virginia City February 25, 1865 held for the organization of the society.

By reason of the limitation fixed in the Organic Act, the legislative session closed February 9, 1865. The mock session in the Council and House was supremely ridiculous. Before the day closed it seemed as if nine-tenths of the men in Bannack were drunk. I had become somewhat conspicuous by never lowering my standard as a temperance man, which was something very unusual in this country. The members and clerks of the two houses concocted a scheme to get me drunk. I eluded them for some time, but was at last captured and taken by superior force to a saloon opposite my store where pandemonium reigned On one side the

long room stood the bar, against which leaned a lot of men, the clerk of the council with glass in hand singing in a loud voice, "The Star Spangled Banner," &c. I was lead up to the bar, a lusty fellow holding on to my coat collar on each side. Along the dead wall of the room were piled beer casks, some with spigots in them ready for use. As I stood there, all at once I ducked my head, turning my coat wrong side out and in turning to run, hit a spigot in a beer barrel, the contents spirting clear across the room. All attention was at once given to stopping the flow of the precious beer, and I had no difficulty in reaching that seclusion that I so highly desired. I never was aware that I lost any popularity for standing firmly by my avowed principles. Late in the fall of 1864 rich discoveries were made at Last Chance gulch, where now stands the city of Helena. Stampedes took place from all the mining camps in the territory, and the discovery showing every sign of proving rich and permanent, and having accumulated a large stock of lumber at Virginia City, I sold to W. F. Sanders a half interest in my mill and we decided to remove it to the new mines. This was safely accomplished while I was attending the legislature, and at its close having met with moderate success, and having large interests in partnership with Gov. Edgerton, A. W. Hall, and Leonard A. Gridley in numerous quartz veins I determined to forego further experience of mountain life, and return to my old home in Massachusetts. Nims and I decided to go to Fort Benton and await the first boat and descend the Missouri to St. Louis, while my brother and Mr. Warner remained to manage the mill. Mr. Sanders finally purchased the remaining half of the mill and his brother became its manager.

Among the other mining interests which we had obtained was No. 6 north of the discovery, on the "Dakotah," above the gulch at Marysville. No. 4 had been found to be very rich in pockets, and it was right near town. From the discovery claim two miners by most primitive methods took out over six thousand dollars during the winter months. They dragged the quartz in rawhides to their cabin, where they pulverized it in a mortar, and washed the crushed quartz in a pan and secured the gold. One day some miners at work on No. 4 broke through into a

cavern of considerable extent which they asserted was of great beauty. When they had arranged their machinery so as to be able to lower people into their mine, they extended an invitation to the governor and the members of the legislature to visit the new discovery. We were all lowered safely into the cavern, which was indeed a wonderful sight. While not of great size the walls of the room and the stalactites suspended from the roof were beautiful, and the stalagmites in rare and picturesque form covered the floor of the cave. Before the crib containing the governor and some of the council was raised to the surface, the occupants were made to pledge themselves to pass a bill pending in the legislature in which the miners were interested, which trick they considered a huge joke upon the members.

When the time came for severing the intimate relations which had for so long existed between us and the Edgerton and Sanders families, it was much harder than I had anticipated. It was particularly trying to leave the sweet babe, Idaho, who had been a pet, and for whom I had made from a shoe box the cradle in which she slept. When grieved, she would come to me even from her mother's arms. And the little five year old Pauline, whom I called "my little wife" was very dear to me. One day when she and her mother were alone Mrs. Edgerton said, "Pauline," receiving no answer she again spoke, "Pauline." No answer. "Why Pauline Edgerton! why don't you answer when I speak to you?" The little minx looked up and said, "I'm not Pauline Edgerton; I'm Mrs. Thompson!" I am informed that among the treasures hoarded by the Historical Society of Montana are to be found a barrel chair which I constructed from a ten gallon molassses keg for my "little wife," and the cradle made for little Idaho. Young Nims who was the post master of Bannack, resigned his office, and securing a light wagon and span of horses with Henry Tilden for driver, we set out for the head waters of the Missouri at Fort Benton. On the journey I crossed the Rocky Mountains for the eleventh time into Deer Lodge prairie, and the twelfth time as we went out at Mullen's pass. We stopped at the ranch of Malcom Clark on the Little Prickley Pear, little thinking that our friend would be murdered within a few years by the same dirty Indians who were hanging about his ranch at that time. I had purchased a Mexi-

can bridle, the most beautiful piece of leather work which I ever saw, tending to present it to a lady in Massachusetts, but Mr. Clark having caught sight of it, frankly told me that it could not go out of the country, and that if I would not sell it to him, one of his Indians would steal it. Under the circumstances, I felt *compelled* to exchange it for a fine bead pouch, the work of his Blackfoot wife. I possess it yet, together with the lady to whom I presented it. In the Prickly Pear canon we secured a fine set of deers horns and the head of a large Big horn, which we took to Massachusetts. At Sun river we found the government farm abandoned, and there met a messenger sent out by Carroll & Steell to warn people on their way to Fort Benton to travel only in large parties, and to keep a sharp look-out as all the Indians were very ugly, and that a large war party of Bloods were out and would be likely to attack any small party. There was no other way for us to do, but cross the high prairie for sixty miles which lay between us and Benton. We drove on forty-five miles and camped at the "Springs," and before noon next day arrived safely at Benton, and committed ourselves to the kindly care of Carroll & Steell. These progressive men, formerly clerks of the American Fur Co. had built a convenient store house and other buildings a mile or more above Fort Benton and entered into the Indian trade upon their own account. Here we remained several weeks waiting with all the patience we possessed, for some intelligence from the Missouri river boats. The ugly attitude of the Indians prevented any white man from hunting, and the poor horses and cattle suffered severely from want of feed, for that near, or within safe distance of the fort, had been gnawed to its roots. Mountain Chief, a Blackfoot and a few other of his tribe, relatives of the squaws of some of the half breeds and white men had wikiups near at hand, and hunted enough to keep us supplied with meat.

Henry Bostwick, who at one time had been our teamster, whose squaw was Mountain Chief's relative, was taken suddenly sick and sent for me to come and see him. I found him at his wikiup near that of the Mountain Chief and evidently very sick. There was no more shape to his head than to a pumpkin, both eyes being closed and his head a mass of sores. I went down to Fort Benton and tried to find some remedy which I thought might relieve him, as I had no idea that he could recover. I

found nothing but a few packages of pressed hops. The squaw and I made of these a compress and applied it as hot as the patient could bear, to his head and face, which we often renewed. The patient soon slept and the next day seemed improved. He said that before I came, he made up his mind that he must die, and, said he, "I prayed." "Well, Bostwick; what did you pray for?" "Well, I'll tell you; I prayed that these d—d Indians might have the same disease!" It was not many days before Bostwick appeared at Carroll & Steel's store, but such a looking specimen of humanity was never before seen; there was not a hair on his head; not even an eye-lash or eye-brow! The Mountain Chief came down with the same disease, and his squaw sent down for me, but luckily for me, and probably for him, a regular physician strayed into the Fort, and I gladly retired from practice. There were about fifteen men waiting at Benton, and our entertainers ran out of both sugar and salt. A few weeks previously, ten men had laid out a town at the junction of the Marias and Missouri rivers, about fifteen miles by land below Fort Benton, and some thirty miles by the big river. They were cutting timber and building cabins expecting the town to rival Fort Benton.

Volunteers were called for to go down to "Ophir" and procure the need supplies. Being cooped up as we were was pretty dull business for me, and I told Carroll that if he would find me a companion and let us have the two best buffalo horses there were in the herd, that I would make the trip. This was agreed to. and soon my companion and I were journeying toward "Ophir." We kept upon the highest land—the ridge lying between the Teton and the Missouri—known as the "Cracon-du-Nez" intending to make a run for safety should we discover any Indians. We reached the camp without incident, had a good visit with the boys, (one of whom, Frank Angevine, had been a clerk in the legislature) purchased our sugar and salt, warned the party of hostile Indians, and safely returned to Benton without any Indian scare.

Twenty-four hours later the bodies of these ten men lay naked, stiff, and stark, in their blood, scalped, maimed, and mangled, in the most fiendish and inhuman manner which can be imagined. They had been surprised by one hundred and fifty Blood Indians, who immediately after the massacre fled toward the British line. Only Little Joe Kipp, a half

breed who had been employed as a herder, was left to tell the story. On his arrival at the fort a party was made up to pursue the murderers, who followed the trail for a day, only finding a white man's scalp, and the first camping place, where ten fires had been built. At Ophir they found the remains of Frank Angevine, George Allen, James Andrews, N. W. Burris, Franklin Friend, George Friend, Abraham Low, James H. Lyons, Henry Martin and James Perie. The bodies of the murdered men were buried in one grave and the settlement was blotted out. A friendly Blackfoot reported that the Bloods said that the whites fought like devils; that one man got his back against a tree and killed three Indians before he died. The body of Frank Angevine was found terribly mutilated at the foot of a large cottonwood tree. We subscribed quite a sum of money to induce Joe Kipp to go out on the Deer Lodge road and warn travellers of the danger of venturing out in small parties.

We were so hemmed in that our food supplies were getting pretty short. One day the squaw cook served a most savory soup, and we all ate heartily; but when upon inquiry, it was learned that the basis of the feast was a buffalo calf taken from its slain mother, it caused some of the tender-feet to feel a little gruesome. They were a few buffalo cows running with the herd of cattle, which had been captured when calves, but they were only killed for food supply, when hunger made it necessary.

Late in May the long waited for boat arrived, and we took ourselves, baggage, and trophies, on board for our three thousand mile voyage.

I had, by the kindness of Carroll & Steell, who had no goods for trade, been permitted to trade all those things which I did not care to take to the states, with a large party of Crows, for robes and furs. One morning we discovered upon the opposite side of the Missouri, perhaps two hundred lodges of these Indians, who had noislessly come in and made camp since the preceeding day. A boat was sent over from the Fort and two or three chiefs came over, and after a palaver, although neither Fort Benton or Carroll & Steell had any goods to exchange, they decided to cross and go down to Fort Union, by way of Milk river. In a few minutes after the boat returned to the Crow camp, the wikiups were all down, and each boss squaw had her household goods securely rolled up in the tent skins, making a large, round bundle. The river was now running

high from melting snows in the mountains, and was very swift, but before long five hundred ponies were in the river, and attached to the tail of each was the family tent skin, and clinging to the huge ball and partially supported by it were the more mature members of the family, while the papooses were perched on top. The bucks swam along side the ponies, holding to their manes, and keeping them guided against the current of the stream. The young girls and maidens modestly unloosed some article of clothing as their feet touched our shore, but the old squaws were not in the least abashed to land quite in the costume of the original inhabitants of Paradise. A few weaklings floated a long way down the river and we assisted the men at the fort in launching a large flatboat and picking up the stragglers. The whole affair did not occupy an hour's time, and was a very interesting exhibition of native courage and capacity. A bevy of young girls came up in the vicinity of Carroll & Steell's store, and Nims, Tilden and another young man went out to make their acquaintance. Perhaps too abrupt in their missionary work of civilization, it was not long before we saw the three gallants hoofing it for the home station, closely followed by about a dozen handsome young squaws who were very fleet of foot. The could not be induced to enter the trading post. We dickered with the old squaws, and instead of taking home old clothes, jack-knives, fish-hooks, percussion caps, and other knick-knacks, we carried some fine robes—whole skins—deerskin hunting shirts, leggins, bows and arrows, lariats, moccasins, and skins and small furs. In fact I took home a whole bale of selected robes, and from Carroll & Steell's warehouse containing many thousand beaver pelts I selected twelve which I had made into a coat, which after more than forty years service is still a very comfortable garment.

The boat brought report of many Indian murders along the river, and we went prepared for trouble. At a bend of the river just below the mouth of the Musselshell, where the channel which the boat must follow ran close under the curving bank, the pilot discovered about three hundred warriors who were evidently intending to attack the boat. The alarm was given just as we had sat down to breakfast, and as I rushed to my statercom to get my rifle, right before the door lay a big colored waiter evidently hoping to escape any stray bullet. A full head of steam was

To be Continued.

COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD'S REGIMENT

Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, May to July, 1775.
Colonel John Mansfield's 19th Regiment, Army United Colonies, July to September 15, 1775.
Lieutenant Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 19th Regiment, Army United Colonies, September 15th to December, 1775.

By Frank A. Gardner, M. D.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN KIMBALL of Manchester was engaged May 5, 1775 as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year under that officer and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army.

CAPTAIN JOHN LOW of Beverly (also given Ipswich) was engaged May 12, 1775 as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under this officer and his successor in command, Lieutenant Colonel Israel Hutchinson. January 1, 1776 he became Captain in Lieutenant Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army.

CAPTAIN EZRA NEWHALL of Lynn was the son of Samuel and Sarah (Sargent) Newhall. He was born in Malden May 1, 1733. May 20, 1760 he was commissioned Ensign in Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment, in which his elder brother, Joseph, served as Captain. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Lynn Company of Minute Men. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Major in Colonel Rufus Put-

nam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, to rank from November 1, 1776. May 17, 1777 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel William Shepherd's 4th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He served in the campaign which resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne, was at Valley Forge and took part on the battles of Trenton and Princeton. During the remainder of the war he was in the army under the command of General Heath and was stationed at West Point and vicinity. September 30, 1783 he was brevetted Colonel and he served until November of that year. After the war he removed to Salem to live. President Washington made him collector of Internal Revenue, and he held that position until he died. He was one of the original members of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati. He died April 5, 1798 and was buried in the old Charter Street burying ground in Salem. His grave just inside the gate is marked by a black stone. Saunderson in his "Lynn in the Revolution" writes: "Abundant evidence appears that Colonel Newhall was a brave and prudent officer in the war, and a well beloved citizen at home."

CAPTAIN ASA PRINCE of Danvers was the son of Doctor Jonathan and Mary (Porter) Prince. He was born February 22, 1746-7. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched from Danvers in command of a company. April 25 of that year he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year. September 6, 1776 his name appears in a list of officers of Colonel Henry Herrick's 8th County Regiment, Massachusetts Militia. In December 1776, he commanded a company which was raised in Danvers and Middleton in Colonel Timothy Pickering; Junior's 1st Essex County Regiment. In a petition dated Danvers, May 4, 1778 signed by said Prince, he stated "that he had been commissioned as Captain of the Second Company of the 8th Essex County Regiment, September 6, 1776; that he had served faithfully in that capacity at home and in three campaigns. but as certain field officers under whom he declined to serve had been appointed to his regiment, he asked permission to resign his commission". He was noted for his coolness in the face of danger.

CAPTAIN ENOCH PUTNAM was born in Salem Village (now Danvers Highlands) February 18, 1731-2. He was the son of Jethro and Annie (Putnam) Putnam. He was a Lieutenant in Captain Jeremiah Pages (3rd Danvers) Company in Colonel William Browne's 1st Essex County Regiment, August, 1771. He was elected to a town office in 1757 and for nearly forty years served in one town office after another. "He held, previous to the Revolution, the office of highway surveyor, warden, constable and tythingman. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Israel Hutchingson's Company of Minute Men. April 26th he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under that officer and Lieutenant Colonel Israel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Israel Hutchingson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army, and was taken prisoner at Fort Washington November 15, 1776. March 4, 1778 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Larkin Thorndike's 8th Essex County Regiment. June 18, 1779 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Nathan Tyler's 3rd Worcester County Regiment, engaged in the Rhode Island service. July 7, 1781 he became Lieutenant Colonel of a Regiment raised to reinforce the Continental Army stationed at West Point and served until December 8, 1781. After the Revolution he held many "important positions serving on committees to see about raising the necessary men for army, taxes, supplies, highways, etc. He was often moderator of the town meetings." "Putnam Ancestry," Page 246. He died in Danvers about 1796.

CAPTAIN ADDISON RICHARDSON of Salem was the son of Isaac and Elizabeth (Richardson) Richardson. He was born in Woburn, July 3, 1739. After the death of his parents he lived for a few years in Cambridge. From April 10th to November 23, 1758 he was a private, residence Cambridge, in Captain William Angier's Company in Colonel Joseph Williams's Regiment. He removed to Salem as early as 1765. May 9, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under that officer and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was Captain in

Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army, and was taken prisoner at Fort Washington November 16, 1776. Colonel Israel Hutchinson in a petition addressed to the Council August 16, 1777 represented that certain officers who belonged to the regiment and other officers were prisoners at Long Island recommending that advance pay be sent to these officers. Draft of a letter of instructions from the Council to Captain Thomas Randall, dated November 3, 1777 is preserved in the archives, directing said officer to effect the exchange of Captain Richardson and other prisoners for British prisoners to be forwarded to New York in a cartel. Captain Lawrence R. T. Campbell was exchanged for Captain Richardson, a parole agreement bearing the date of Boston, 1777. His release was not effected evidently at that time as his name appears on a list dated February 24, 1778, of prisoners to be exchanged for British prisoners under parole. October 14, 1779 he became Captain in Colonel Jacob Gerrish's Regiment and served until November 22nd of that year. This regiment at this time being detached to reinforce the army under General Washington. From June 29th to October 10, 1780 he was Captain in Colonel Nathaniel Wade's three month Essex County Regiment. He died in Salem, July 31, 1811.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JAMES BANCROFT of Lynn, was the son of John and Ruth (Newhall) Bancroft. He was born in that part of Lynn now Lynnfield, March 21, 1732. From May 31st to September 11, 1754 he was a Corporal in Captain William Flint's Company, Colonel Winslow's Regiment and bounty was paid for the above service. From March 13th to October 29, 1758 he was Sergeant in Captain Isaac Osgood's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Nichols's Regiment. In 1767 he was an Ensign in Captain Nathaniel Bancroft's 3d Lynn) Company, Colonel Benjamin Pickman's 1st Essex County Regiment. In August 1771 he was an Ensign in Captain Joseph Gowing's 3rd Lynn Company, Colonel William Browne's Essex County Regiment of Militia. He was tythingman in 1757 and a warden in 1775. May 6, 1775 he became Lieutenant in Captain Gideon Foster's company, Colenel John Mansfield's Regiment and served through the year in that command, the latter part of the

year being in Captain John Baker's Company. January 1, 1776 he became First Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment Continental Army, and was promoted to Captain July 16, 1776. November 26, 1779 he was commissioned Ensign in Colonel Michael Jackson's 8th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and in April 1780 was promoted to Lieutenant. May 12, 1780 he enlisted as Lieutenant in Lieutenant Colonel Ezra Badlam's Regiment, and his name appears in a list of officers dated Phillipbury, July 18, 1782. Notwithstanding the last named record, Heitman stated that he resigned May 12, 1780. He died in Lynnfield, August 22, 1814, aged 82 years (and not March 17, 1831 as stated by Heitman).

FIRST LIEUTENANT ZADOCK BUFFINGTON of Salem was the son of James and Elizabeth Buffington. May 7, 1775 he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Barnes's Company. June 7, 1775 he was commissioned Lieutenant in Captain Ezra Newhall's Company in the same regiment. He served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Israel Hutchinson. June 6, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Robert Foster's Company, Colonel Timothy Pickering's First Essex County Regiment. August 10, 1777 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Samuel Johnson's 4th Essex County Regiment and served in that command until November 30, 1777. In December 1777 he was commissioned Lieutenant in the Sea Coast Company at Salem, reported appointed in place of Benjamin Ropes, who declined. April 14, 1778 he was commissioned Lieutenant in the Sea Coast Company of Salem. He was called cordwainer in the records, later gentleman and esquire. He conducted a tavern on the corner of what are now Church and Washington Streets in Salem. He died in the Spring of 1799.

FIRST LIEUTENANT NATHANIEL CLEAVES of Beverly was the son of Joshua and Elizabeth (Putnam) Cleaves. He was born in Beverly, September 20, 1750. In a petition dated April 27, 1776 this officer stated that he served in the engagement of April 19, 1775. Having pro-

ceeded from Beverly on horse-back to "Menottamy," where, meeting the enemy, he dismounted to engage them, was wounded, and lost his horse, saddle, etc., and praying that he might be reimbursed for said losses. His father, Joshua Cleaves in a petition referred to later, stated that he was wounded in this engagement, loosing a finger. He enlisted as Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Barnes' Company, Colonel Mansfield's Regiment. In 1776 he was first Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. He was taken prisoner at Fort Washington November 16, 1776. His father, Joshua Cleaves, signed a petition in Boston August 22, 1777 in which he stated the above facts regarding his service on the Lexington alarm and his capture at Fort Washington. In a letter dated November 3, 1777, instructions were given from the Council to Captain Thomas Randall directing him to effect the exchange of said prisoner at Long Island, for a British officer to be forwarded to New York in a cartel. In a list dated February 24, 1778 said Cleaves was to be exchanged for Lieutenant Charles Campbell.

FIRST LIEUTENANT FRANCIS COX of Salem, was engaged May 9, 1775 to hold that rank in Captain Addison Richardson's Company and he served through the year. January 1, 1776 he became First Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN DODGE (Junior) of Wenham marched as Ensign in Captain Thomas Kimball's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Baker's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. He may have been, and probably was, the John Dodge who was Ensign in Captain Caleb Low's 1st Danvers Company, Colonel William Browne's 1st Essex County Regiment in August 1771. May 5, 1775 he was engaged as Lieutenant in Capt. Benjamin Kimball's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment, and served through the year. In another list he is given as a member of Captain Enoch Putnam's Company in the same regiment. May 7, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Jonathan Col. John Mansfield's Regiment, and served through the year under Colonel

year he was a Captain in Colonel Timothy Pickering, Junior's 1st Essex County from November 11, 1777 to December 15, 1778. He was a Captain in Colonel Jacob Gerrish's Regiment of Guards.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EPHRAIM EMERTON of Salem, was engaged May 19, 1775 as Lieutenant in Captain Nathan Brown's Company, Colonel John Man's Regiment, and served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. December 19, 1777 his commission was ordered as commander of the privateer schooner "Congress." October 5, 1779 his commission was ordered as commander of the privateer brigantine "Saratoga." October 8, 1781 he was commissioned commander of the privateer brigantine "Hound." At one time during this sea service he was captured, as his name appears in an undated list of officers and crew of five privateers belonging to Salem, Marblehead and Cape Ann, taken by a British Ship of War.

FIRST LIEUTENANT BILLY PORTER of Wenham was the son of Jonathan and Lydia (Tyler) Porter. He was born in Wenham August 3, 1739. On the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Wenham Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Baker's Regiment. Seven days later he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Francis's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment and he served through the year in that regiment, part of the time, probably, according to a list, in Captain Gideon Foster's Company. During 1776 he was Captain of the 8th Company in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Ebenezer Francis's 11th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. October 26, 1780 he was commissioned Major in Lieutenant Colonel John Brook's 7th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In Heitman's "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" it is stated that he became Major in the 10th Regiment, Massachusetts Line on the date above assigned for his commission as Major, and that he was transferred to the 7th Regiment,

Massachusetts Line, January 1, 1781. During the next two or three years he served "up the Hudson" frequently acting as Major Commandant of his regiment. June 12, 1783 he was transferred to Colonel Michael Jackson's 3rd Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He served until November 3, 1783.

LIEUTENANT JOHN UPTON, JUNIOR of Lynn was the son of John and Tabitha Upton. He was born October 16, 1746. His home was in Lynnfield at the place now owned by Mr. Frank Hart and the fine old house is still standing on Chestnut Street. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Ensign in Captain Ezra Newhall's Lynn Company of Minute Men. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Lieutenant under the same Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment, and he served through the year in that regiment. On the list his name appears as Lieutenant in Captain Asa Prince's Company in the same Regiment. April 26, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in the 6th Company in Colonel Timothy Pickering's 1st Essex County Regiment. His commission as Lieutenant in Captain Newhall's Company has been reproduced in Saunderson's "Lynn in the Revolution" opposite page 56. After the war he returned to Lynnfield and carried on his occupation as cordwainer. He died in Lynnfield April 30, 1838, and was buried in the old burying ground in Lynnfield Center. The gravestone has the droll inscription describing one wife "deposited on the right" and the other "deposited on the left." He was a man of good mind and strong character in personal appearance and medium height, portly and dignified.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOB WHIPPLE of Danvers was a private in Captain Israel Herrick's Company from April 28th to November 26th, 1757. The name of Israel Hutchinson was given as his master. He enlisted for service upon the "Eastern Frontier." On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he enlisted as Sergeant in Captain Israel Hutchinson's Company of Minute Men. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Enoch Putnam's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment and he served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant

Colonel Israel Hutchinson. During 1776 he served as First Lieutenant in Colonel Hutchinson's 27th Regimennt Continentnal Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain i Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Continental Army, and he served under that officer chiefly up the Hudson and about West Point until April 25, 1781 when he was reported "resigned." Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" states that he was retired January 1, 1783.

FIRST LIEUTENANT STEPHEN WILKINS of Middleton was probably the son of Stephen and Hannah (Curtis) Wilkins, who was born in Middleton, December 17, 1736. He was a Lieutenant in Captain Asa Prince's Company in Colonel Mansfield's Regiment and June 7, 1775 the Provincial Congress ordered that his commission be delivered. In 1776 he was Captain of a company, made up of men from Danvers, Middleton and Lynn. The company was raised to reinforce the Continental army is Canada and New York. This return was made by Aaron Wood, chairman of the committee of Essex County by resolve of June 20, 1776.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ARCHELAUS BATCHELOR of Beverly may have been the man of that name who was one of the recruits for Castle William raised by Richard Saltonstall and Francis Miller who entered service in 1765 and served seven days. He enlisted April 25, 1775 as Ensign in Captain Asa Prince's Company, Colonel Mansfield's Regiment. In another list of officers of the Massachusetts Militia, he was credited with the rank of Ensign in Captain John Lowe's Company in the same regiment and was reported commissioned June 7, 1775. In another list of officers of this regiment from Colonel Henshaw's orderly book, published in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. XV, p. 78, he is credited with the rank of Second Lieutenant in Captain John Lowe's Company.

SECOND LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN CRAFT of Manchester was the son of Benjamin and Mary (Choate) Craft. He was born probably in Ipswich (now Essex) August 20, 1738. He was a cordwainer by trade

and lived in Manchester. August 16, 1757 as a member of Captain Thomas Dennis's Company, Colonel Appleton's Regiment, he marched from Chebacco to Waltham on the way to assist in the relief of Fort William Henry. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was engaged as Sergeant in Captain Andrew Worcester's Company which marched to Medford. May 5, 1775 he enlisted as Ensign in Captain Benjamin Kimball's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment. In another list he is given as holding the same rank in Captain Enoch Putnam's Company in the same regiment. In a return dated October 6, 1775 at Winter Hill his name appears as Second Lieutenant under the last named officers. He served through the year. After the war he returned to Manchester from the army and engaged in the manufacture of shoes, furnishing one hundred pairs a month to the soldiers. While in the army he kept a journal as his father had done in the French War. This journal, covering the period from June 15th to August 13, 1775 has been published in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 3, pp. 51 to 57. "He was a man of observant mind, careful in his statements, and painstaking in giving many things of value." He died in Manchester, February 27, 1823, aged 85 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT THOMAS DOWNING of Salem, enlisted May 19, 1775 as Ensign in Captain Nathan Brown's Company, Colonel Mansfield's Regiment, and served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. In one of the lists of officers he is called Lieutenant. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. In a petition dated May 12, 1777 he was called Second Lieutenant of the brigantine "Pluto." In this petition, Josiah Orne, the owner of the brigantine requested that Nathan Brown be commissioned Commander, and said commission was order in Council. In a descriptive list of the officers and crew of the Privateer Ship "Jack" he was named as commander, his age being given as 35 years; stature 5feet 9½ inches; complexion dark; residence Salem.

SECOND LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN GARDNER was the son of Ensign Daniel and Anne (Putnam) Gardner. He was baptized October 9, 1757. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Sergeant in Captain Asa Prince's Company of Minute Men. April 26, 1775 he was engaged to serve as Ensign in Captain Putnam's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment, and he served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. In a list of officers of this regiment found in Colonel Henshaw's orderly book his name appears as Second Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Kimball's Company. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Lieutenant (called Captain Lieutenant by Heitman) until November, 1778, when he was promoted to Captain. He retired January 1, 1781. About 1785 he removed to Marblehead where he lived during the remander of his life. He died in Marblehead, September 17, 1813. Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" evidently confounds him with some one else, and gives various services between 1813 and 1816.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOSEPH HERRICK of Beverly was the son of Colonel Henry Herrick of Beverly, and was born February 15, 1738. on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as a private in Captain Larkin Thorndike's 1st Beverly Company. May 12, 1775, he became Ensign in Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment, serving part of the time in Captain John Low's Company and the rest of the time in the Company of Captain Thomas Barnes. In some of these lists, both of Captain Low's officers and Captain Barnes's he is called Lieutenant. During 1776 he was a Second Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. August 18, 1777 he enlisted as Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Flint's Company, Colonel Samuel Johnson's 4th Essex County Regiment for service at the Northward. He was killed in the Battle of Stillwater, August 7, 1777.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JAMES MATTHEWS of Marblehead was engaged May 6, 1775 as Second Lieutenant in Captain Gideon Foster's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment. On another list he was credited as Second Lieutenant in Captain John Baker's Company and on still another as Ensign in Captain Ebeneazer Francis's Company in the same regiment. January 1, 1776 he became First Lieutenant in Colonel Enoch Poor's 8th Regiment, Continental Army. "In a general order dated Headquarters, Ticonderoga, September 5, 1776 taken from Colonel Wheelock's orderly book; said Matthews, Lieutenant in Colonel Poor's Regiment, tried on charge of going on parade while intoxiated, selling liquor to private soldiers, etc., found guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer, and sentenced to be dismissed from the service."

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN PIERCE. Boston, (also given Salem) was engaged May 8, 1775 as Ensign in Captain Thomas Barnes's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment and served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. In a list of officers in this regiment found in Colonel Henshaw's orderly book, he is called Second Lieutenant in Captain Ezra Newhall's Company in this Regiment, and he is also given the same rank in Captain Barnes's Company in a return dated Camp at Winter Hill, October 5, 1775. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became First Lieutenant in Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In 1778 he was promoted to Captain Lieutenant and March 1, 1779 became Captain. He retired January 1, 1781.

SECOND LIEUTENANT FREDERICK REED was probably the son of John and Mary (Torrey) Read, who was born in Abington, July 21, 1736 and lived later in Weymouth and Boston, according to the "History of the Reed Family." On the Lexington alarm he marched as Sergeant in Captain Jacob Gould's Company, Colonel Benjamin Lincoln's Regiment. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain Addison Richardson's

Company, according to the list of officers found in Colonel Henshaw's orderly book. Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" credits him with service in this rank in this regiment through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT GRIMES TUFTS of Lynn served as Sergeant in Captain Ezra Newhall's (Lynn) Company of Minute Men which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Ezra Newhall's Company, Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment. In another list of officers of this company he is called Second Lieutenant and in Colonel Henshaw's list in his orderly book he is given the same rank in Captain Asa Prince's Company. He served through the year. He died December 23, 1805.

SECOND LIEUTENANT HAFFIELD WHITE was the son of Josiah and Sarah (Prince) White. He was born in Wenham, January 3, 1738-9. August 16, 1757, he marched from Wenham to Waltham in Captain Dennis's Company, Colonel Daniel Appleton's Regiment for the relief of Fort William Henry. From April 7th to November 19, 1758, he was a private in Captain Stephen Whipple's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment. His place of residence was given Wenham, and his father's name Josiah White. April 6, 1759 he enlisted for the invasion of Canada, his residence being given as Wenham, age 21 years. From January 1, 1760 to January 12, 1761 he was a private in Captain Andrew Gidding's Company, Colonel Bagley's Regiment, in service at Louisburg. He was probably the man of this name who marched as a private in Captain Billy Porter's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Baker's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Francis's Regiment, and he served through the year, under those officers. In the list found in Colonel Henshaw's orderly book he was credited with the same rank in Captain Gideon Foster's Company in this regiment. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th

Regiment, Continental Army, being Regimental Adjutant at least as early as April 18th. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In May, 1781, his name appears as acting Brigade Quarter Master and he was later reported as holding the same office. He retired January 1, 1783. Drake states that on "December 3, 1787, he led from Salem the advance guard of pioneers in the settlement of Marietta, Ohio; afterwards erected mills at Wolf Creek, and finally settled near Waterford." He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati. He died in 1817, near Waterford, Ohio.

ENSIGN EZEKIEL COOPER of Rowley (also given Danvers) was in all probability the man of that name who was the son of Leonard and Sarah (Platt) Cooper, who was born in Rowley, October 7, 1745. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Sergeant in Captain Asa Prince's Company of Minute Men. May 4, 1775 he enlisted as Sergeant under the same officers. This rank of Sergeant is the highest with which he is credited in the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution," during 1775, and the writer has found no documentary evidence that he was given a commission during that year. His name appears, however, as Ensign in this Regiment in Heitman's "Historical Register of the Continental Army" and similar credit is given him in the volume published by the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was a member. During 1776 he was Ensign in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he served in that organization until 1782. January 1, 1783 he was transferred to Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Sprout's 2nd Regiment, Massachusetts Line and on the 7th of January of that year he was commissioned Captain in the same organization. He served to June, 1783. He removed to Ohio in 1788, and was living there in the town of Warrenton in the year 1807. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

A book which will interest those of our readers who have followed Dr. Frank A. Gardner's short histories of the Massachusetts Naval vessels and privateers, is "Merchant Venturers of Old Salem" by Robert E. Peabody, in which has been collected from old letters and log books an account of the early commercial ventures and voyages of the Derbys of Salem, Massachusetts, who were among the leading American merchants of their day. They carried on a large business with the West Indies in colonial times, and during the Revolution took an active part in the Provincial cause, fitting out many privateers. After the war they were pioneers in the commerce between this ocuntry and the Far East, where they built up an extensive trade, especially with the island of Mauritius.

The books not only tell of the romantic old voyages, captures by pirates, smuggling, and the like, but also contains much information of economic value, such as what the cargoes were, what prices they brought and how contemporary political events in America and Europe directly affected the trade. It gives an excellent idea of the way our merchants carried on their business in those "good old days" a hundred years ago, when American ships were found on every sea.—Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston.

During the year 1913 the vital records to 1850 of the following towns have been printed under the provisions of chapter 470 of the Acts of the 1902 Massachusetts Legislature: Carver, Duxbury, Framingham, Hopkinton, Hull, Newburyport (Vol. II.), Sherborn, Story, and Worthington.

It is well known that the ink used in the original copy of the Declaration of Independence has faded away until it has become almost invisible, and many other old documents are fading so rapidly that they will become invisible in course of time—due to the poor quality of ink used when they were written. Several years ago the custodian of public records agitated the subject of better inks until a standard formula was adopted by the State of Massachusetts for inscribing all State records.

The typewriter has come into such general use in preparing documents that the Commission of Public Records has seen the necessity of indelible inks for typewritten manuscripts, and has accordingly tested and approved the following grades of typewriter ribbons, for use in all Massachusetts Public Records:

Eagle Brand Black Record Ribbon,
Manufactured by American Ribbon and Carbon Company, Rochester, N. Y.

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Manufactured by The Ault and Wiborg Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Markwell Brand Black Record Ribbon.
Manufactured by the Frank Bayer Company, 22 North William Street, New York.

Carter's Black Record Typewriter Ribbon.
Manufactured by The Carter's Ink Company, First and Athanaeum Streets, Cambridge, Mass.

Columbia Brand Black Record Ribbon.
Manufactured by the Columbia Ribbon and Carbon Manufacturing Company, 111 West Broadway, New York.

Crown Brand Black Record Ribbon.
Manufactured by Crown Ribbon and Carbon Manufacturing Company, Rochester, N. Y.

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Manufactured by M. F. Donovan Company, Auburn, N. Y.

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Manufactured by A. P. Little, Rochester, N. Y.

Black Record Ribbon.
Manufactured by Manifold Supplies Company, 188 Third Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Carnation Brand Black Record Ribbon.
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Manufactured by H. Ohashi & Co., 395 Broadway, New York.

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Manufactured by The Republic-Dodge Manufacturing Company, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Diamond Brand Official Black Record Ribbon, ink No. 621.
Manufactured by The S. T. Smith Company, 11 Barclay Street, New York.

American and How-Ko Brands, Black Record Ribbons.
Manufactured by H. M. Storms Company, 11 and 13 Vandewater Street, New York.

Underwood's Black Record Ribbon, ink No. 655.
Manufactured by John Underwood & Co., 30 Vesey Street, New York.

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Manufactured by Union Ribbon and Carbon Company, 9th and Thompson streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

Paragon, Premier, Invinciple, Monarch, and Success Brands, Black Record Ribbons, and Yost Black Record Pad.
Manufactured by The Union Typewriter Company, Ribbon Factory, Bridgeport, Conn.

The Webster Star Brand Black Record Ribbon.
Manufactured by F. S. Webster Company, 332 Congress Street, Boston.

Every individual preparing historical manuscripts on a typewriter ought to use the same care in selecting typewriter ribbons that the State does, for in event of failure to print, through interruption in the work by death, lack of finances, or other cause, the permanence of the manuscript is as important to the author (and others interested in his work) as it is to the State.

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COLONEL ASA WHITCOMB'S REGIMENT

Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, April 19, 1775.
Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 5th Regiment, Provincial Army, April-July, 1775.
Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 23rd Regiment, Army United Colonies, July-December, 1775.

By Frank A. Gardner, M. D.

This regiment was made up largely of men from Worcester County, but two companies were composed principally of Middlesex men, while another had representatives from several counties. On the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, Colonel Asa Whitcomb responded to the call with twelve companies. His regimental staff was composed as follows:

Colonel Asa Whitcomb, Lancaster
Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Whitney, Harvard
First Major Josiah Carter, Leominster
Second Major John Rand, Westminster
Adjutant Eliakim Atherton, Bolton
Quarter Master Jeremiah Laughton, Harvard
All of these men were engaged for service April 19, 1775.

The line officers of this Lexington Alarm Regiment were as follows:

Captains	First Lieutenants	Second Lieutenants
Joseph Fairbanks	William Burt	Phineas Willard
Ebenezer Woods	Kendall Boutell	Asa Perry
Isaac Gates	Josiah Haskell	Amos Fairbanks
Daniel Robbins	Asa Wilder	Fortunatus Eager†
Elisha Jackson		
James Burt	Phineas Farnsworth	Jacob Robbins
Deliverance Davis	Ebenezer Conant	John Conn
John Estabrook	William Eagell	Nathan Howard (Ens.)
Robert Longley	Paul Whitcomb	Jonathan Baley (Ens.)
	Josiah Kendall*	Thomas Osborn
Joseph White	Cyrus Fairbank	Moses Sayer

*Marched with Daniel Robbins' Company.
†Ensign Edward Newton also in thiscompany.

When the Provincial Army was organized, April 25, 1775, this regiment became the 5th in that service and was stationed at Cambridge.

The Field and Staff officers at this time were as follows:

Colonel Asa Whitcomb, Lancaster.

Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Whitney, Harvard.

Major Ephraim Sawyer, Lancaster.

Adjutant Jeremiah Gager, Westminster.

Surgeon William Dunsmore, Lancaster.

Two other members of the staff were added May 22nd, namely

Surgeon's Mate Moses Barnard, Lancaster.

Quartermaster Jeremiah Laughton, Harvard.

The line officers were as follows:

Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns
John Fuller	Ebenezer Bridge	Jered Smith
Ephraim Richardson	Seth Haywood	Ephraim Boynton
James Burt	Ebenezer Woods	Jabez Keep
David Wilder	Jonathan Gaits	Timothy Boutal
Andrew Haskel	John Kindreck	Jonathan Sawyer
Robert Longley	Sylvanus Smith	Ephraim Smith
Agripa Wells	Jacob Poole	Ezekial Foster
Jonathan Davis	Elisha Fullam	John Meeds
Abner Cranston	John Wyman	Benjamin West (Ded.)
Edmund Bemis	John Hore	David Foster."

To the above list he appended the following:

"Captain Benjamin Hastings

Lieutenant Jonathan Houghton

Ensign Jonathan Merriam

I desire that these officers may be commissioned and join my Regiment according to their Desier as they have Done Dutye and Joynd the Regiment Ever Since they have Bin in Camp.

Asa Whitcomb, Colonel.

The above said officers ware minet officers and Came Down at the fight at Concord and have about fifty able Bodied men in the Company. The Capt. ware my Lieut. the year 58 and were good officer and Can-

not Persuaid him to join any other Regiment But mine."

"A return to Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment now in Capmt at Cambridge the 25th of May, 1775.

Colonel, Lt. Col., Major, Adjutant, Qt. Master, Surgeon, 1 each.

John Fuller	1	1	1	4	2	52.
Ephraim Richards	1	1	1	4	2	51
David Wilder	1	1	1	4	2	53
Abner Cranston	1	1	1	4	2	50
James Burt	1	1		2	2	43
Robert Longley	1	1	1	4	2	47
Jonathan Davis	1	1		4	2	32
Edmund Bemis	1	1	1	4	2	43
Andrew Haskell	1	1	1	4	2	49
	10	10	8	38	20	468

Field Officers

Colonel Asa Whitcomb
Lt. Col. Josiah Whitney
Major Ephriam Sawyer

Staff Officers

Adjutant Jeremiah Eager
Quarter Master Jeremiah Laughton
Chaplain None
"Cirgeon" William Dunsmore
" Mate None

Field Officers	3
Staff Officers	3
Commissioned	28
Non Commisisoned	58
Rand and File	468
Total	560

Asa Whitcomb, Col

N. B. Captain Benjamin Hastings has enlisted 33 men in order to Settle in my Regiment which is not numbered in the above Number."

Appended to a list of Lieutenants and Ensigns similar to the above list we find the following:

"In Committee of Safety June 9, 1775.

Cambridge.

We recommend to the Honble the Provinicial Congress that the within named Officers belonging to Collo. Whitcomb's Regiment may be Commissioned, if the Congress have no objection.

William Cooper, Secretary."

It was ordered in Provincial Congress June 12, 1775 that Mr. Sayer fill up and deliver commissions to men in Colonel Whitcomb's Regiment.

In the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, it is believed that at least three companies of this regiment were present. One account, given by a soldier, states that Captain Benjamin Hastings led on a company of 34, and took post at the rail fence. Two other companies, Captains Burt's and Wilder's were also, in all probability, in the battle. In a list of causualties given in 4 Force II, 1828, it is stated that five members of this regiment were killed, eight wounded and two missing. The following document explains itself:

"This May Certifie that we the Subscribers Being Chosen officers of a minett Company in Bolton have taken orders to Rais a Company in the Preasent army and haveing fifty-three able Bodied effective men fit for Servce in our Company and having Don Duty in Coll. Whitcomb's Regiment from our Furst Takeing out orders and we desire that we may be commistioned under said Coll. which was the Expectation of the Company.

To the Honble The Provincial Congress Camp No. 2 Cambridge June ye 30—1775.

Benjin Hastings, Cpt.

Jonathan Houghton, Lieut.

Jonathan Meriam, Sd. Lieut."

Certain officers (not named) were ordered to be commissioned in this regiment June 30, 1775 in the Provincial Congress.

"Cambg. June 30, 1775

A List of the Staff Officers and Commission Officers in Coll. Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, not commissioned.

Staff Officers

Jeremiah Gage, Adjutant

Jeremiah Laughton, Quat. Master

Will. Dunsmore, Doct.
Capt. Abner Cranston

Sam West, 2nd Lt. in the place of him that was killed in the fight at Charleston.

Asa Whitcomb.

N. B. I have a full Regmt exclusive of Benj Hastings who has 53 in his Company, and he has done Duty with me and declines joining any other Regm't and I desire that the officers of that Company may be commissioned and join my Regmt.

Asa Whitcomb.

Benjamin Hastings, Captain
Jonathan Houghton, Lieut.
Jonathan Meriam, Second Lieut."

"In Committee of Safety

Cambridge, June 30, 1775

It is recommended to the Honorable the Provincial Congress that Samuel West above named be Commissioned as 2d Lieut. in Capt. Abner Cranston's Company in Collo. Asa Whitcomb's Regiment.

Wm. Cooper, Sec'y."

The principle towns represented in the regiment were as follows:
Agrippa Wells, Greenfield, Bernardston, Shelburn, Northfield, etc.
James Burt, Harvard, Fitchburg, Lancaster, Ashburnham, etc.
Robert Longley, Bolton, Shirley, Groton, etc.
Benjamin Hastings, Bolton, Putney, Westminster (Vt.?) Rockingham, Brattleboro, Vt.
Ephraim Richardson, Lancaster, Lexington, etc.
Andrew Haskell, Lancaster, Lunenberg.
David Wilder, Leominster, Ashburnham, Claremont, Westminster.
Edmund Bemis, Westminster, etc.
Jonathan Davis, Harvard, Boston, etc.
John Fuller, Lunenberg, Fitchburg, Hillsboro, N. H., Concord.
Abner Cranston, Marblehead, Salem, Boston, Marlboro, Southboro, etc.

The Regiment was located at Prospect Hill during the remainder of 1775.

The officers of this regiment attained rank during the war as follows: colonel 4, lieut. colonel 2, major 2, captain 26, first lieutenant 15, second lieutenant 14, ensign 1, adjutant 2, quarter-master 1, surgeon 2. After the

war one became brigadier general, 2 attained the rank of colonel and one captain.

The following table shows the strength of the regiment during the different months of the year:

	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Com.	Rank & File	Total
June 9, 1775	36		44	522*	612
July, 1775	36	5	51†	523	615
Aug. 18, 1775	36	3	57	493	589
Sept. 23, 1775	36	4	58	518	616
Oct. 17, 1775	26	5	44	512	587
Nov., 1775	36	5	58	498	597
Dec. 30, 1775	35	5	60	487	587

*This number in June includes corporals, fifers and drummers.

†Including drummers and fifers.

COLONEL ASA WHITCOMB of Lancaster was born about 1720. He was a brother of General John Whitcomb. He served first as a scout in 1748. From March 28th to December 1756 he commanded a company from the second precinct in Lancaster on the Crown Point Expedition. In 1758 he commanded a company in Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment, and his men were billeted on the march from Lake George, November 10th of that year. The company served ten months. He had a large farm in Lancaster and was deacon of the Church. In 1773 Captain Asa Whitcomb served as delegate from Lancaster to the General Court and was one of the delegates from Lancaster to the Worcester Convention, August 9, 1774. He was also a delegate from Lancaster to the General Court in 1774. He was a delegate to the First Provincial Congress from Lancaster. "Colonel" Asa Whitcomb was one of the representatives from Lancaster in the Second Provincial Congress in February 1775. He was one of the citizens of Lancaster to contribute for the poor of Boston during that winter. The account of his response to the Lexington alarm has been given in the historical section of this article. May 9, 1775 he was chosen by the Second Provincial Congress as muster master in place of his brother John who declined to serve. When at the end of 1775 the Continental Army was organized, Colonel Whitcomb was left out, the reason being given on account of his advanced age, as he was 56 years old at this time. The following story of his reinstatement was told in the New London Gazette:

"Deacon Whitcomb of Lancaster (Who was a member of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay until the preesnt war commnced, has served in former wars and been in different engagements) served as Colonel in the Continental Army; but on account of his age was left out on the new regulation. His men highly resented it, and declared they would not enlist again after their time was up. The Colonel told them he did not doubt there was sufficient reason for the regulation and he was satisfied with it. He blamed them for their conduct and said he would enlist as a private. Colonel Jonathan Brewer heard of it, and offered to resign in favor of Colonel Whitcomb. The whole coming to General Washington's ears, he allowed of Colonel Brewer's resignation in Colonel Whitcomb's favor and appointed the former Barrack-master until he could further promote him, and acquainted the whole army with the whole affair in general orders. Let antiquity produce a more striking instance of true greatness of mind."

During 1776 he served as Colonel of the 6th Regiment in the Continental Army. Towards the close of January his regiment was transferred from Prospect Hill to the Brigade of General Thomas, and on February 22nd, 1776 was ordered to Roxbury, where it occupied the home known as Shirley's Mansion. After the evacuation of Boston, Colonel Whitcomb's was one of the three regiments detailed to garrison the town. He with his regiment stayed in Boston until August when they marched for Ticonderoga. Colonel Whitcomb was very popular with his men and the author of "Military Annals of Lancaster" states that it "seems to have been in a large degree due to the noble qualities of the heart. He was evidently a lovable, as well as able man, a practical Christian, an uncompromising patriot, a true and tried soldier. While he may have been an unexceptionable leader of men in days like those of Lexington and Bunker Hill, it needed but a brief campaign to show that he was too amiable to become a military disciplinarian." His surgeon described him as "a serious, good man, but is more conversant with the economy of domestic life than the etiquette practiced in camp." This is shown in the following, taken from the "Annals of Lancaster" above quoted.

"Each officer was entitled to the service of a private soldier as his waiter, a regimental commander had two. Colonel Whitcomb selected his own sons for this service, and one of them, wanting to earn an honest

penny by plying his trade of shoemaker, the good country deacon saw no impropriety in allowing the cobbler's bench to be set up in the room he occupied as regimental headquarters. This republican simplicity at once excited the fiercest contempt of the officers of other organizations in the encampment, and one night the Lieutenant Colonel of Wayne's Regiment, when half crazy with drink, made an assault on the offensive bench, which, having succumbed to his valliant sword, he knocked the Colonel down, and ended by calling all of his own battalion and raising a bloody riot."

Various depositions concerning this affair have been published in the "Annals of Lancaster," and that of Major Daniel Whiting of Dedham closes as follows: "Colonel Whitcomb entered a compaint against the said Thomas Craige to the Commandant & and said Thomas was arested, but as Colo. Whitcomb was obliged to return home, & the trial of said Thomas was not likely to take place soon, the said Col. Whitcomb withdrew his complaint as far as concerned himself' received satisfaction for himself from the said Thomas. According to Surgeon James Thatcher this satisfaction consisted of a bear supper which Colonel Graige gave, inviting as his guests Colonel Whitcomb and his officers."

Colonel Whitcomb's service ended April 1, 1777, and he returned to Lexington to his farm. In June 1777 he "collected evidence (in accordance with a resolve of the General Court) against such as were deemed 'internal enemies of the State.'" Before the end of the war he removed to Princeton, and served that town in the Legislature. He died March 16, 1804, aged 84 years.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOSIAH WHITNEY of Harvard was born in Stow, September 11, 1731, the youngest son of Richard and Anna (Whitcomb) Whitney. His mother was a relative of General John and Colonel Asa Whitcomb. In 1755 from August 16th to December 14th he served as a private in Captain Samuel Preston's Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment. In August 1757 he marched as a private in Captain Israel Taylor's Company, Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment for the relief of Fort William Henry. December 27, 1767 his name appears as Lieutenant in Captain Jason Russell's 2nd Harvard Company, Colonel Joseph Wider's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. In September 1774 his name appears in the records as Captain of "The Youngest Company"

in Harvard. On the Lexington Alarm of 1775 he marched as Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and on the 25th of that month was engaged to hold the same rank under Colonel Asa Whitcomb in the Provincial Army, and he served through the year under him. January 23, 1776 he was chosen Colonel of the Second Worcester County Regiment, one of the six regiments raised to serve before Boston until April 1, 1776. April 10, 1776 he was chosen Colonel of a regiment raised to fortify the town and harbor of Boston, and to be stationed at Boston under General Ward. The regiment was stationed at Camp Howe. On April 17, 1777 he was nominated to command one of two regiments destined for Rhode Island. In August 1777 he was Colonel of a regiment which marched on the alarm of Bennington. In the Rhode Island campaign in August 1778 he was Colonel of a Regiment comprising 630 rank and file in Brigadier General Titcomb's Brigade. In 1779 according to a return dated July 5th of that year he was Colonel of the Second Worcester County Regiment in Brigadier General Jonathan Warner's Brigade. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of May 1780-1783. He was made Brigadier General, but resigned before the breaking out of Shay's Rebellion. He was a selectman of Harvard 1783, '4, '7, '8, '9. He represented his town in the General Court in 1787-9. He was a delegate to the United States Convention in 1788. He favored Shays at the time of the insurrection. He was arrested and taken to jail in Worcester. He petitioned to be liberated as he had "left at home a destitute family, a wife and seven children, the eldest not twelve years of age." He was released after sixteen days imprisonment under £250 bonds. When his trial came no one appeared against him and he was released.

FIRST MAJOR JOSIAH CARTER of Leominster was a private in Captain John Carter's Company (troop of horse) in Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment for the relief of Fort William Henry, August 14-27, 1757. In December 1767 he was a Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Wilder's Leominster Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's Regiment. In July 1771 he was Captain of the 1st Leominster Company in Colonel Caleb Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he served as First Major in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment; service seventeen days. February 1, 1776 he was commissioned Lieuten-

ant Colonel in Colonel Abijah Stearns's 8th Worcester County Regiment. June 2, 1779 he was chosen Colonel of the 8th Worcester County Regiment. He presented his resignation June 18, 1779, and it was accepted in council June 23, 1779. He died in Leominster February 14, (13 G. S.) 1812, 85 years.

SECOND MAJOR JOHN RAND of Westminster was the son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Parker) Rand. He was born in Lynn, October 14, 1722 (his name incorrectly spelled Rann in the records). He spent his boyhood days in Salem, Woburn and Shrewsbury, and later lived in Bolton, and removed to Westminster where he bought property in 1747. He was a Lieutenant in the Westminster Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's Second Worcester County Regiment (in August, 1761). In July 1771 he was promoted to Captain in the same company. He marched as Second Major in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, and served seventeen days. February 7, 1776 he was commissioned First Major in Lieutenant Abijah Stearns' 8th Worcester County Regiment. July 25, 1777 he was engaged to hold the same office in Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment, serving until November 30th of that year. June 2, 1779 he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Josiah Carter's 8th Worcester County Regiment, and on the 24th of that month was chosen Colonel of the same regiment. From July 4th to October 11, 1780 he was Colonel of a regiment raised in Worcester County to reinforce the Continental Army for three months. "He was a man of unsual natural ability, active in public affairs and in the church." He died December 11, 1789.

MAJOR EPHRIAM SAWYER of Lancaster was a Lieutenant in Captain Nathan Brigham's Company from June 10th to December 3rd 1760. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Major in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as Major in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. He was appointed field officer of picket, May 25, 1775, and field officer of fatique May 30th. He served through the year under Colonel Whitcomb, and February 2, 1776 was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. Later in 1776 he was Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel James Converse's 4th Worcester County

Regiment. He marched northward with this regiment in September 1777. In October 1780 he has a record of "Colonel" serving as private "in Captain William Fletcher's Company in Colonel Benjamin Symond's Second Berkshire County Regiment."

ADJUTANT ELIAKIM ATHERTON of Bolton enlisted as adjutant in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment April 19, 1775 and served seventeen days. We have no further record of any Revolutionary service. He died in Bolton December 24, 1786, aged 44 years.

ADJUTANT JEREMIAH GAGER of Westminster came to that town from Stamford, Conn. about 1770. His name appeared on the muster roll in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment of Minute Men as Adjutant, April 19, 1775. April 25, 1775 he was engaged to serve in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and he continued in that command through the year. He was Deputy Sheriff in 1778. He died in 1805.

SURGEON WILLIAM DUNSMORE of Lancaster was born in that town February 8, 1733-4. He was the son of John and Eunice Dunsmore. He was a private in Captain Nathan Sawyer's Lancaster Company, Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment, which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry in August 1757. On the Lexington alarm on April 19, 1775 he marched as First Major in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment of Minute Men, serving six days. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and he held that rank under that officer during the year. July 10, 1780 he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel John Rand's 8th Worcester County Regiment and he served until October 11, 1780. According to the records of the House of Representatives he was chosen Muster Master of Worcester County. He died in Lancaster, May 20, 1784 in the 51st year of his age.

SURGEON MATE MOSES BARNARD of Lancaster was appointed, May 22, 1775, to serve in that rank under Doctor Dunsmore in this regiment, and he served through the year. August 20, 1776 he was engaged as Surgeon on the State Sloop "Republic," commanded by Captain John Williams. He served two months and twenty-eight days.

QUARTERMASTER JEREMIAH LAUGHTON of Harvard was a Corporal in Colonel Josiah Brown's Regiment in 1756. In 1757 he held

the same rank from August 13th to 28th in Captain Samuel Haskell's (Harvard) Company, detached from Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment, which marched on the Fort William Henry alarm. In August 1761 he was Lieutenant in Captain Phineas Fairbank's (Second Harvard) Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Quartermaster in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and six days later was engaged to serve under the same commander in the Provincial Army. He held that rank until his death August 11, 1775.

CAPTAIN EDMUND BEMIS of Westminster was the son of Philip and Elizabeth (Lawrence) Bemis. He was baptized October 22, 1732 and settled with his family at his home lot in Westminster. A man of this name, but with residence given Spencer, held the rank of Captain in an expedition to Crown Point from February 18th to December 25, 1756, and is included in a list of men from the Worcester County Regiment, commanded by Colonel John Chandler, Jr. The subject of this sketch marched as Lieutenant in Captain Noah Miles' Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving five days. April 24, 1775 he enlisted as Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and served through the year. He commanded a Company in this regiment in the battle of Bunker Hill. He served as assessor in Westminster one year, and as selectman three years, and held other position of trust. He died December 1, 1807, aged 75 years.

CAPTAIN JAMES BURT of Harvard was the son of John and Elizabeth (Nutting) Burt. He was born in Harvard in 1727. From March 20th, to December 20, 1760 he was Captain in Captain Richard Syke's Company. In this record he was called of Harwood. In 1762 he was at Crown Point in Captain Thomas Farrington's Groton Company. In 1774 he was a Lieutenant in Captain Josiah Whitney's "Youngest Company of Harvard. In the History of Harvard, under date of March 17, 1775, he is called "Captain" James Burt. On the Lexington Alarm of April 19 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company in Colonel Asa Whitcomb s Regiment. April 25, 1775 he enlisted in the same rank under that commander and served through the year, receiving his commission May 26th The roll of his company has been published in the "History of Harvard. page 320.

CAPTAIN ABNER CRANSTON of Marlborough, was the son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Brown) Cranston. He was born in Marlborough, April 21, 1732. From May 31st to September 13, 1754 he was a Corporal in Captain Phineas Osgood's Company, Colonel John Winslow's Regiment. From August 18th to November 16, 1755, he was a Corporal in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment. In 1757 he served in the 2nd Marlborough Company, commanded by Captain John Weeks, the record being endorsed "Gone into the Province Service this year." From March 31st to November 17, 1758 he was a Sergeant in Captain Asa Whitcomb's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment. April 6, 1759 he became Sergeant in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company, Colonel Abel Williams's Regiment, and he served until November 30th of that year. From June 10th to December 1, 1760 he was Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Peniman's Company. His name appears in a return of officers of Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, May 25, 1775, as a Captain in that command. He served through the year. January 1, 1776 he was appointed Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army, and he served until November. November 6, 1776 he was engaged as Major in Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's 13th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He continued to serve under this officer and his successor, Lieutenant Colonel Calvin Smith until his death May 29, 1777. Seven years half pay was allowed his widow

CAPTAN DELIVERANCE DAVIS of Ashburnham was the son of Ebenezer and Sarah Davis. He was born in Harvard July 1, 1736. He was a private in Captain Israel Taylor's (Harvard) Company in a detachment from Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment, serving from August 13th to 26th, 1757, in an attempt to relieve Fort William Henry. In response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment.

CAPTAIN JONATHAN DAVIS of Harvard was Ensign in Captain Jason Russell's Second Harvard Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's Regiment, December 26, 1767. In the records of the Town of Harvard he was called Captain, March 7, 1775. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, and April 26, 1775 was engaged as Captain in Colonel Asa Whit-

comb's Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year. In 1777 he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety for the town of Harvard.

CAPTAIN JOHN ESTABROOK of Westminster was the son of John and Prudence (Harrington) Estabrook. He was born October 20, 1729. July 1771 he was Lieutenant in Captain John Rand's 1st Westminster Company in Colonel Caleb Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. He marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 as Captain of a company which joined Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving nine and one-half days. He died in 1804, aged nearly 75 years.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH FAIRBANKS of Harvard was the son of Joseph and Mary (Brown) Fairbanks. He was born in Harvard November 4, 1722. From March 27th to November 11, 1755 he was Lieutenant in Captain Richard Godfrey's Company, Colonel Ruggles' Regiment on the Crown Point expedition. He was Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Day's Wrentham Company, Colonel Miller's Regiment on the alarm list in April, 1757. In August 1761 he was Captain Lieutenant in Lieutenant Colonel Peter Atherton's Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. He marched as Captain of a Company in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, leaving the rendevous April 21st, and serving three days.

CAPTAIN JOHN FULLER of Lunenberg was probably the man of that name who was a resident of Sutton in 1759 and who, at the age of twenty-one years enlisted on April 16th, in Captain Samuel Clark Paine's Company, Colonel John Chandler, Junior's Regiment, on the expedition to Crown Point. In the following year, at the age of twenty-two he enlisted in Captain Moses Hart's Company in an expedition to Canada, the latest enlistement being April 9th. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as Captan in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, Provincial Army, and received his commission May 26th. serving through the year.

CAPTAIN ISAAC GATES of Harvard was the son of Jacob and Elizabeth Gates, and was born in Harvard August 6, 1729. He was a private in Captain John Whitcomb's Company from April 14th to October

31, 1755, on a Crown Point expedition. In 1757 from August 13th to 28th he was a trooper in Captain John Haskell's Company, detached from Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment, marching for the relief of Fort William Henry. He was selectman of the town of Harvard in 1771, and served as assessor in 1774. In the latter year he was named among the fifteen largest tax payers in the town. September 26, 1774 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Asa Houghton's "oldest Company" in Harvard, March 7, 1775 he is called Captain in the Harvard Records. He marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 as Captain of the 4th Company in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and he served sixteen and one-half days, returning home May 4. 1775. He was a member of the Harvard Committee of Correspondence in 1776. In the "History of Harvard" it is stated that he "was of a family noted for physical and mental energy. He was peremptory of speech, high spirited, and autocratic, with stately figure and soldierly mein. His patriotism was so ardest that he devoted large shares of his property (and he was one of the wealthiest men in the town), to the cause of liberty. He lived on the East Side of Bare Hill. He died October 30, 1796, aged 68 years.

CAPTAIN ANDREW HASKELL of Lancaster was First Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Houghton's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 25th he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment in the Provincial Army, and he served through the year. In a list of Field Officers of the "2d reg't to be raised for the Defence of Boston May 8" (1776), he was called Captain, the regiment being commanded by Colonel Thomas Marshall. He was commissioned July 5th. He continued in this service until December 1, 1776. He probably was the man who served in July 1777 as Lieutenant in Captain John White's Company, Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment, on the Bennington alarm. In May 1778, while still a resident of Lancaster, he enlisted in Captain White's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. His description was as follows: age 30 years, stature 5 feet, 10 inches, complexion dark, hair dark, eyes black. In 1779 he was a private in Captain Samuel King's Company, Colonel Thomas Marshall's 10th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He was reported discharged March 7, 1779. July 12, 1780 he was appointed Sergeant of the

Colonel's Company in Colonel Gamaliel Bradford's Regiment, serving until December 20, 1781. He was engaged for a term of three years to serve in Captain Beman's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. His age at this time was given as 33 years. In explanation of his service in the decadent scale as shown above, the hstorian of Lancaster states that he "resigned because others were promoted over his head but . . . an inborn love of military service and patriotic ardour impelled him into the field, rank or no rank. The spirit of the man was above his position and it was inextingusihable. He lived here until the year 1791 when he enlisted under General Arthur St. Clair who led our forces against the Indians in the Northwest. Our army was badly defeated in the battle near the village of Miami, November 3, 1791. In this fight Captain Haskell was killed." The supposed impediment to his promotion (in the Revolutionary service) was incurable uncouthness of manners.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN HASTINGS of Bolton was Ensign in Captain Joseph Whitcomb's Company on the Crown Point Expedition from March 27th to October 24, 1755. From March 13th to November 5th of the following year he was Lieutenant of Captain Asa Whitcomb's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment. From May 21st to September 13, 1759 he served as Captain in the Crown Point Expedition. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment. April 27, 1755 he was engaged to serve in the same rank in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment in the Provincial Army. In the Battle of Bunker Hill he led a company of thirty-four, and took post at the rail fence. He served through the year.

CAPTAIN ELISHA JACKSON of Wistminster was the son of Isaac and Ruth (Greenwood) Jackson. He was born about 1737. In August 1757 he marched from Cambridge to Springfield in Captain Joshua Fuller's Company, Colonel William Brattle's Regiment in an expedition for the relief of Fort William Henry. From April 2, 1759 to September 5, 1760 he served in Captain William Angier's Company, Colonel Joseph Frye's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched to join Captain Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and served thirteen and one-

half days. March 23, 1776 he was commissioned Captain of the 2nd Westminster Company in Colonel Abijah Stearns' 8th Worcester County Regiment. On the Bennington alarm of August, 1777, he commanded a company from Westminster, which served under Major Ebenezer Bridge. From June 2nd to September 5, 1778 he was a Captain and supernumerary officer in Colonel Nathaniel Wade's Regiment. His father, Isaac, gave him a grant of land in Gardner and he lived there until his death in 1814, at the age of 77 years, 4 months and 23 days. He was buried on the 10th of July of that year.

CAPTAIN ROBERT LONGLEY of Bolton was born in that town about 1732. August 9, 1756, he was at Fort William Henry in Captain Timothy Houghton's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment, serving from March 22, to October 23. A note stated that he joined from Colonel Wilder's Regiment. From June 17th to December 5, 1760 he was a private in Captain Jonathan Rolfe's Company. In July 1771, he was Ensign in Captain Jonas Houghton's 1st Bolton Company in Colonel Caleb Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. He marched as Captain of a Company in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, and seven days later was engaged to serve in the same rank under the same commander in the Provincial Army, and continued through the year. In a list of Field Officers of the Regiments of the Worcester County Militia, proposed by the Legislature, January 12, 1776, he was reported as belonging to the Second Worcester County Regiment. June 26, 1776 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Jonathan Smith's Regiment of the Berkshire and Worcester County men, raised for service at Quebec and New York. "Colonel" Robert Longley died in Bolton, August 10, 1802, aged 70 years.

CAPTAIN EPHRAIM RICHARDSON of Lancaster served as Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Sawyer's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 19th of that year he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and his original commission is pre-

served in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 146, page 77. He served through the year.

CAPTAIN DANIEL ROBBINS of Lancaster was a private in Captain John Carter's Company, a detachment of Colonel Oliver Wildes Regiment, which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry, August 14th to 27th, 1757. He served as clerk of the town in 1770, 2, 3, 5, 6. He was Captain of the 4th Lancaster Company, in Colonel Caleb Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment in July 1771. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched to Cambridge and commanded a Company of Militia in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving fourteen days.

CAPTAIN AGRIPPA WELLS of Greenfield. From March 8th to April 2, 1756 as a sentinel in Captain John Burt's Company, he was reported "scouting Westward". From October 16th to December 11, 1756 he was "at Westward", in Captain John Catlen's Company. June 25, 1758, while a member of Captain Jonathan Burbank's Company, he was taken into captivity by the Indians scouting near Lake George. July 1, 1773 he was chosen "to tune the psalm" in the church at Greenfield. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain in Colonel Samuel Williams's Regiment of Minute Men. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and served through the year. September 1, 1776 he became Captain in Colonel Samuel Brewer's Regiment and served for three months. July 10, 1777 he was engaged as Captain of Colonel Porter's Regiment and served twenty-eight to thirty-eight days, to reinforce the Northern Army after the evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga. June 19, 1780 he was commissioned Captain of the 10th Company in Lieutenant David Wells' 5th Hampshire County Regiment. He served as assessor of the town of Greenfield in 1777. He kept an inn in that town in 1778, 9 and 81. The following year he sold this tavern, and it became known as the Willard Tavern.

He took sides with Shays in the Rebellion of 1787, and led a full company of men from Colrain, Leyden, and Bernardston. He died in Greenfield March 24, 1809, aged 70 Years.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH WHITE of Lancester was the son of Josiah and Abigail (Whitcomb) White. He was born in that town November 1, 1719. He served as a Sergeant in Captain Nathaniel Sawyer's Company in a detachment of Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment which marched August 15th to 27th, 1757 for the relief of Fort William Henry. In August 1761 he was Ensign in the Colonel's (1st Lancester) Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's Regiment. June 8, 1767 he was Lieutenant in Captain John White's 1st Lancester Company, in the same regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he commanded a Company of Militia in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving four and one-half days. He was a deacon of the first church in Lancester, and lived on the old homestead. He died November 15, 1780.

CAPTAIN DAVID WILDER of Leominster was the son of David and Anna (Prentice) Wilder. He was born in Lancaster in 1741. From February 29th, to December 2, 1760, while still a resident of Lancaster, he served as a private in Captain Thomas Beman's Company. In July 1771 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Robinson's Troop of Horse, in Colonel Caleb Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and served through the year. June 24, 1779 he was chosen First Major in Colonel John Rand's 8th Worcester County Regiment..

CAPTAIN EBENEZER WOODS of Fitchburg was the son of Sergeant Nathaniel and Alice (French) Woods. He was born in Groton, December 19, 1728. From April 18th to October 17th, 1748 he was a centinel on Captain Edward Hartwell's Company. On the Lexington alarm of

April 19, 1775 he was Captain of a Company of Militia in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. In a return dated June 3, 1775 his name appears as Lieutenant in Captain James Burt's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and he served, in all probability, through the year. He was later called "'Colonel". He was living in Winsor, Vt. in 1780.

FIRST LIEUTENANT KENDALL BOUTELL of Fitchburg was a private in Captain Thomas Wilder's (Leominster) Company, Colonel Joseph Wilder's Regiment, from August 15th to 28th, 1757, on the Fort William Henry alarm. He served as surveyor of highways of Fitchburg in 1764 and was a member of the school committee the following year. October 1774 his name appears as Ensign in Captain Ebenezer Woods's Company. He served as selectman in Fitchburg in 1775-6. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Woods's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving thirteen days. March 23, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Woods's Company, Colonel Abijah Stearns's 8th Worcester County Regiment. May 5, 1777 he was a member of Captain Joseph Sargent's Company, detached from Colonel Stearns's Regiments to march to Rhode Island under command of Colonel Spencer. This service lasted until July 12, 1777. August 22, 1777 he was Lieutenant in Captain William Thurlo's Company, Major Ebenezer Bridge's Regiment, which marched on the alarm at Bennington. He was dismissed after proceeding ninety miles. According to a roll sworn to April 4, 1778, he served in the same company and regiment 28 days at Saratoga.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EBENEZER BRIDGE of Fitchburg enlisted April 25, 1775 in Captain John Fuller's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and served through the year. January 12, 1776 his name appears in a list of officers of the newly organized 8th Worcester County Regiment. He was a resident of Harvard in 1790.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM BURT of Harvard, was the son of John and Elizabeth (Nutting) Burt. He was born in 1729. In 1757, from August 13th to 26th, he was a private in Captain Israel Taylor's

Company, detached from Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment for service on the Fort William Henry alarm. From June 11th to October 6, 1760 he was a private in Captain Aaron Brown's Company. October 7th, he was promoted to the rank of Ensign in the same Company, serving until December on a Crown Point expedition. He was selectman of the town of Harvard in 1771, '4, '5, '8, '9, '80. April 19, 1776 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Fairbank's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. His name appears on a receipt dated December 11, 1776 for mileage from Harvard to Danbury (Lemuel Hills Company). He lived in the "Old Mill District" in 1782.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EBENEZER CONANT JUNIOR of Ashburnham was the son of Ebenezer and Ruth (Pierce) Conant, of Concord. He was born August 11, 1743 and settled in Ashburnham before 1762. From March 23rd to November 17, 1762, he served as private in Captain James Reed's Company. He was Lieutenant in Captain Deliverance Davis's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched in response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving ten days. March 14, 1776 his name appears in a list of officers of the Massachusetts Militia as Adjutant in Colonel Abijah Stearns's 8th Worcester County Regiment. In a list of officers at Dobb's Ferry, Tarrytown and North Castle, N. Y., in 1776, his name appears as Adjutant in Colonel Converse's Regiment. He served as selectman of Ashburnham in 1779. He was five feet, nine inches in height, and dark complexion. He was sick two years before he died and became poor. His wife begged him to give away some of the children. He said: "I have given away all your children to the truest Friend in the world. I have given them away to God." He died August 3, 1783.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM EDGELL of Westminster was the eldest son of William and Elizabeth (Norman) Edgell, and was born in 1726. In July 1771, he was Ensign in Captain John Rand's 1st Westminster Company, Colonel Caleb Wilder's Second Worcester County Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Lieutenant in Captain John Estabrook's Company, in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving 13½ days. In 1776 his name appears in a list of commis-

sioned officers in Colonel "Jam's" Regiment. August 16, 1776 he was commissioned quartermaster in Colonel Nicholas Dike's Regiment, but five days later Joseph Holden was reported to have been chosen in his place. July 6, 1780 he mas commissioned Captain of the 1st Westminster Company, in Colonel John Rand's 8th Worcester County Regiment. "He was a public spirited and active citizen of the town, esteemed and honored." He died January 13, 1809 aged 82 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT PHINEHAS FARNSWORTH of Harvard, the son of Phinehas and Azubah Farnsworth, was born July 15, 1733. In 1858 he was a private in Captain George Reed's Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regiment in service at Lake George. From March 20 to December 24, 1760, he was a private in Captain Thomas Farrington's Company. He served as selectman in Harvard in 1774. In response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Lieutenant in Captain James Burt's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving 8 days. "Captain" Phinehas Farnsworth was one of the leaders who helped drive the Shakers out of Harvard in 1783.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ELISHA FULLAM of Harvard was the son of Elisha and Sarah Fullam. He was born February 14, 1752. He was Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Davis's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged to serve as First Lieutenant under the same Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. In August and September 1778 he served in Captain Manassah Sawyer's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Regiment, in the Rhode Island service. He had a fulling shop on Nonacoicus Brook, Harvard. He was one of the leaders of the Anti-Shaker riots in 1782. He dropped dead at his own hearthstone, and the Shakers thought it was just retribution.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JONATHAN GATES of Ashburnham was the son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Gates, and was born May 27, 1738. They removed to Ashburnham between 1760 and 70. From April 20th to November 5, 1756 he was a member of Lieutenant Jerathmeal Powers's Company, and was credited as "scouting between the Merrimack and Con-

necticut Rivers". Jonathan Gates, Sr., sent a bill of two pounds to the Provincial Government for caring for his son Jonathan while in the service suffering from a fever. May 3rd to December 10, 1759 he was a private in Captain John Church's Company, on the Crown Point expedition. A portion of this time he was in Captain Benjamin Hasting's Company. He was Captain of a Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving six days. April 25, 1775 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Wilder's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and served through the year. March 23, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Abijah Stearns's 8th Worcester County Regiment. October 1, 1777 he was engaged as Captain for service at Saratoga. He was frequently elected to office. He removed from Ashburnham soon after the Revolution.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSIAH HASKELL of Harvard was the son of Deacon Joseph Haskell of Stillriver. A receipt of bounty dated Harvard, March 29, 1757, from Colonel Oliver Wilder for enlistment under the Earl of Loudoun. He was one of the survivors of Fort William Henry massacre, August 9, 1757. He was an Ensign, and the Indians, seeing the decorations on his uniform, pursued him and grabbed his coat, one on each side. He slipped out of it and left them quarreling for its possession. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain Asa Houghton's (oldest Company) in Harvard in September 1774. He was a Lieutenant in Captain Isaac Gates' Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving 10½ days. January 26, 1787 he became Major of the Lancaster Regiment of the Second Brigade, and on December 20th of the same year was promoted to Colonel. He served as selectman in Harvard in 1786, '96, '7, 1800, '4, '5. He died May 19, 1819, at the age of 82.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SETH HEYWARD (HAYWARD, etc.) of Lancaster, was born about 1738, and was probably the son of Phineas Heyward, who removed from Worcester to Shrewsbury in 1739. He was a private in Captain Artemas Ward's 1st Company in Shrewsbury in March, 1757. From April 6th to November 29, 1759 he was a private in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company, Colonel Abraham Williams's Reg-

iment for the invasion of Canada. In a return dated May 19, 1760 his age is given as 22. April 25, 1775, he became Lieutenant in Captain Ephraim Richardson's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and served through that year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN HOAR of Westminster was the son of John and Elizabeth (Coolidge) Hoar. He was born in Lexington July 14, 1741. He was Lieutenant in Captain Elisha Jackson's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 25, 1775 he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Edmund Bemis's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Provincial Regiment, and he served under these officers through the year. He died April 27, 1812, aged 70. Bond and Hudson state that this son of John and Elizabeth died young, but this is evidently an error as shown in the History of Westminster, page 700.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JONATHAN HOUGHTON of Bolton was Ensign in Captain Jonas Houghton's 1st Bolton Company in Colonel Joseph Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment, June 8, 1767. In July 1771, he was Lieutenant in that organization under the same officers. He was Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Hasting's Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Hasting's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and served through the year. March 20, 1776, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. July 22, 1776, he was Captain in Colonel Jonathan Smith's Regiment, and with his company of 78 men, marched "to the Northward or Canada Department." A pay abstract is preserved for rations due from October 1st to November 30, 1776 He may have been the man of that name who died in Bolton in 1829, according to the vital records of that town. No age was given in the record.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSIAH KENDALL of Lancaster was the son of Josiah and Tabithy Kendall. He was born May 3, 1738. He marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 as First Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Robbins' Company of Militia, Colonel Asa Whtcomb's Regiment, serving until April 26, 1775. The company was made up from the 2nd and 13th companies of the regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN KENDRICK of Lancaster was a private in Captain Sack's Company, Colonel Ruggles' Regiment in October 1760. He was an Ensign in Captain Jonas Stone's 2nd Newton Company, Colonel William Brattle's 1st Middlesex County Regiment, December 29, 1763. He was Sergeant in Captain Benjamin Houghton's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving eight days. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Andrew Haskell's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. He served in this regiment through the year, in one record being credited to Captain James Burt's Company. August 15, 1777 he became Lieutenant in Captain John White's Company Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment, serving 21 days on the alarm of Bennington. In 1778-9 he served in Captain John Drury's Company, Colonel Ezra Wood's Regiment at "North river," New York. An order dated April 19, 1779 on Captain Potter, paymaster in Colonel Ezra Wood's Regiment, called for wages for eight month's service.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JACOB POOLE of Shelburne was the son of Honorable Samuel and Rebecca (Shaw) Poole of Abington. He was at Lake George in Captain Slocomb's Company, Colonel Joseph Williams' Regiment, from April 11, to November 24, 1758. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as First Lieutenant in Captain Hugh "McClallen's" Company of Minute Men, Colonel Samuel Williams's Regiment. In a list of officers of Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, dated June 3, 1775 his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain Agrippa Wells's Company of this regiment, and he served through the year. In another list his name appears as Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Davis' Company of Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. (Year not given, probably 1775). In 1780 he was Captain in Colonel John Jacob's Plymouth County Regiment, and on July 27th of that year he was detached with other men of that command to reinforce the Continental Army for three months, and twenty-five days. He was a selectman and prominent citizen of that town and was later a pensioner. He died February 10, 1834, aged 94 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SLYVANUS SMITH of Shirley was the son of Nathan and Rebecca Smith. He was a private in Captain James

Reed's Company at Crown Point from June 12th to December 2, 1761. The following year he served in the same company from March 18th to November 28th. He marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 as First Lieutenant in Captain Henry Haskell's Company, Colonel James Prescott's Regiment. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Robert Longley's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. He served under those officers through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Timothy Bigeowl's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He served with distinction at Valley Forge, West Point and other posts in the Highlands. January 1, 1781 he became Captain of the 1st Company in Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In the summer of 1783 he was transferred to Colonel Joseph Vose's 1st Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In a list made up in July and August 1783 he was reported "sick and absent in Massachusetts." He served until November 3, 1783. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He died May 12, 1830.

FIRST LIEUTENANT PAUL WHITCOMB was born in Lancaster December 30, 1732. He was the son of Josiah and Ruhamah Whitcomb of Lancaster. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Robert Longley's Bolton Company, in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. He served under the same Captain in the Provincial Army Regiment in April—June 1775 and probably through the year. In the Bolton records, under date of March 15, 1802, at the age of 70, is recorded the death of "Captain Paul Whitcomb."

FIRST LIEUTENANT ASA WILDER of Lancaster (probably), son of Josiah Wilder, was born in 1734. He was Ensign in Captain Daniel Robbins 4th Lancaster Company, in Colonel Caleb Wilder's 2nd Worcester County Regiment in July, 1771. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as First Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Robbins' Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, returning home May 1, 1775, after serving 14 days.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN WYMAN of Cambridge, held that rank in Captain Abner Cranston's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, according to a roll made up June 3, 1775, and he served through the year in that command.

SECOND LIEUTENANT EPHRIAM BOYNTON of Lancaster, enlisted April 25, 1775 as Second Lieutenant in Captain Ephraim Richardson's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. In the list of officers at camp in Cambridge, dated June 3, 1775, he was called Ensign with the date of his commission given as June 12, 1775 in the same list. He served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN CONN of Harvard, son of George Conn, was born in that town in 1740. During the campaign of 1758 to Lake George, he was a private in Captain James Reed's Company, Colonel Ruggles' Regiment. From March 26th to December 11, 1759, "age 19," he was a private in Captain Aaron Willard's Company, Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment "serving eastward." According to the History of Harvard he was Sergeant in 1760, serving at Crown Point. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 as a resident of Ashburnham, he served as Second Lietuenant in Captain Deliverance Davis' Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment; service 10 days. His removal to Ashburnham occurred probably in 1761. He became a prominent citizen of this town and was frequently elected to office. He died there June 3, 1803, aged 63.

SECOND LIEUTENANT FORTUNATUS EAGER of Lancaster was probably the man of this name who was in Captain J. Week's Second Marlboro Company, April 7, 1757. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Robbins's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. He returned home May 1, 1775 after a service of 14 days. March 20, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. With his regiment he marched, December 17, 1776 "to reinforce the army in the Jerseys under General Washington, returning March 27, 1777." October 2, 1777 he marched as Captain in this regiment under command of Lieutenant Colonel Ephraim Sawyer, serving 25 days, including travel. March 29, 1779 a petition was drawn up "asking permission to resign his commission as Captain of the 7th Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Second Regiment, he having served in that capacity for a long time, and being advanced in years." The resignation was accepted in Council June 2.

1779. He may have been the man of this name who was a resident of Sterling in 1790.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AMOS FAIRBANK (FAIRBANKS) of Harvard was the son of Joseph and Mary (Bowen) Fairbank. He was born in that town April 31, 1737. From August 13th to 26, 1757, he was a private in Captain Israel Taylor's Harvard Company in a detachment of Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment on the Fort William Henry alarm. September 26, 1774 he was an Ensign in "The Oldest Co." of Harvard. He was an Inn Holder in Harvard in 1770-1773. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was a Lieutenant in Captain Isaac Gates' Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving 10½ days. March 20, 17,6 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Hills' Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. In another record, year not given, his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain David Nurse's Company in the same regiment. From August 19th to 26th, 1777 he marched with Captain Samuel Hill's Company of Harvard, in Colonel Josiah Whitney's Regiment on the Bennington alarm. September 6, 1777 he entered service as First Lieutenant in command of a company in Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment, said company being drafted from the Militia to join the Continental Army at the Northward. He was furloughed November 29, 1777. He was a member of the Committe of Correspondence and Safety in 1780. He was a selectman ot the town of Harvard in 1781, '9, '90, and Deacon of the church in 1786.

SECOND LIEUTENANT DAVID FOSTER of Westminster served as Corporal in Captain Noah Miles' Company, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, and joined Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Edmund Bemis' Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. In a list of officers of this regiment who were ordered June 12, 1775 to be commissioned, his name appears as Ensign. He served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT EZEKIEL FOSTER of Greenfield(also given Bernardston) was the son of Sergeant John and Hannah (Thorp) Foster. He was born in Lebanon, Conn. in 1727, and removed with his

father to Deerfield in 1741. December 29, 1747 he was a sentinel in Lieutenant Samuel Child's Company at Fort Pelham. From December 29, 1747 to March 9, 1748 he was in Colonel John Stoddard's Regiment in the Colonel's Company. From November 1, 1748 to April 3, 1748-9 he was in Captain Israel Williams's Company. From June 4, 1750 to March 28, 1755 he was in Captain Ephriam Williams's Company at Fort Massachusetts. From June 20th to December 10, 1755 he was Corporal in Captain Israel Williams's Company, serving on the Western Frontier. In the Spring of 1758 he was in Captain Israel Foster's Company of Colrain and from April 15 to September 24, 1759 was in Captain Burk's Company at the same place. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Agrippa Wells's Company, Colonel Samuel Williams's Regiment. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Agrippa Wells's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment and served through the year. In some returns he is called Ensign.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JABEZ KEEP of Harvard, was the son of Captain Jabez Keep, Senior, who died in 1774. He succeeded his father as owner of the trip hammer forge and bloomery upon the brook at Old Mill upon his father's death in 1774. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Sergeant in Captain Jonathan Davis's Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment of Minute Men. April 25, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain James Burt's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and served through the year. In one list (not dated) he is called Ensign in Captain David Wilder's Company of this regiment. March 18, 1776 he was chosen Second Lieutenant in Captain Hezekieh Whitney's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Second Worcester County Regiment, Massachusetts Militia. July 22, 1776 Captain Jabez Keep marched wth his company of 82 men "to the Northward or Canada Department" under command of Colonel Jonathan Smith. He served as selectman of Harvard in 1783-4. He died in Harvard in 1784.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN MEAD (OR MEED) of Harvard was the son of Samuel and Hannah (Willard) Mead. He was born in that town June 29, 1749. He marched as Third Sergeant in Captain Jonathan Davis's Company Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment of Minute Men, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26,

1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Davis's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment. In another list (date not given) he is called Ensign in Captain Edmund Bemis's Company in the same regiment. He served as late as September, and probably through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JONATHAN MERIAM of Bolton marched with that rank in Captain Benjamin Hastings's Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Hastings's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and served through the year. In one list (not dated) he is called Ensign in the same company.

SECOND LIEUTENANT THOMAS OSBORN of Bolton was evidently the Thomas "Ozbon" who was a private in Captain Israel Taylor's Company of Harvard in a detachment from Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment, serving on the Fort William Henry alarm from August 13th to 26th, 1757. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Robert Longley's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving eight days. March 20, 1776 he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan Houghton's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Second Worcester County Regiment. From April 1st to July 2, 1778, he was Lieutenant in Captain Seth Newton's Company in Colonel Abijah Stearns's Regiment, serving on guard duty at Roxbury. He died in Bolton, September 13, 1810, aged 75.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ASA PERRY of Fitchburg held that rank in Captain Ebenezer Woods's Company of Militia, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment which marced on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, serving six days. He was a prominent man in that town and served as constable in 1773.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JACOB ROBINS (OR ROBBINS) of Harvard was born about 1728. August 15, 1757 he enlisted as a private in Captain Jonas Prescott's Company for service for the relief of Fort William Henry, being at that time a resident of Littleton. September 26, 1774 he was Ensign in Captain Josiah Whitney's "Youngest Co." He

was Second Lieutenant in Captain James Burt's Company Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. He served as assessor in the town of Harvard in 1777. He may have been the man of that name and town who served in Captain Joseph Sargent's Company on a Rhode Island alarm from May 5 to July 12, 1777. He died in that town November 25, 1778, in the 50th year of his age.

SECOND LIEUTENANT MOSES SAWYER (OR SAYER) of Lancaster was born somewhere between 1730 and '35. Three children of that name belonging to different families were born in that town during that period, and we are therefore unable to tell to which family he belonged. On the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched in the above rank in Captain Joseph White's Company of Militia, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving 4½ days.

SECOND LIEUTENANT EPHRAIM SMITH of Shirley was the son of Nathan and Rebecca Smith. He was probably the man of that name who was a private in Captain Artemas Ward's 1st Shrewsbury Company, March 28, 1757. From February 29th to December 2, 1760 as the son of Nathan Smith, and a resident of Shirley, he was Corporal in Captain Thomas Beaman's Company. From March 8th to December 7, 1761 he was Sergeant in Captain James Reed's Company, serving at Crown Point, and from March 16th to November 24, 1762 he served under the same company commander. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as Sergeant in Captain Henry Haskell's Company, Colonel James Prescott's Regiment. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Robert Longley's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and he served through the year. He was probably the man of that name who was Lieutenant in Captain Nathan Smith's Company, Colonel Jacob's Regiment in November 1778. He removed to Peterboro, N. H. about 1780, and he and Ephraim, Junior were residents of that town in 1790.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JARED SMITH of Lunenberg was engaged April 25, 1775 to serve in Captain John Fuller's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and he served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT SAMUEL WEST was probably the man

who served in Captain "Perces" Company, Colonel Williams's Regiment, and sworn to January 3, 1761. In a list of officers of Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment in 1775 his name appears as Second Lieutenant in Captain Abner Cranston's Company.

SECOND LIEUTENANT PHINEAS WILLARD of Harvard was the son of Phineas and Mary (Sawyer) Willard. He was born in Harvard August 1, 1736, and was one of the twenty Harvard men in Colonel Josiah Brown's Regiment in 1756. From August 13th to 28th, 1757 he was a trooper in Captain Samuel Haskell's Company of Harvard, in a detachment of Colonel Oilver Wilder's Regiment, on the Fort William Henry alarm. He was a lieutenant in Captain Joseph Fairbanks's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, and he was probably the man of that name who served as a private in Captain Amos Fairbanks's Company, Colonel Job Cushing's Regiment from September 6th to November 29, 1777, serving to reinforce the Continental Army at the Northward. He served as assessor in Harvard in 1772, '3, '5, '6, '7, '8, '88, '9.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JONATHAN SAWYER of Lancaster was probably born in that town, but as two of the same name were born within a few years of each other, we have been thus far unable to identify them, and cannot state his parentage. He was a Sergeant in Captain Benjamin Houghton's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1175. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Andrew Haskell's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and he served through the year. In some of the returns he is called Ensign. June 18, 1776 his name appears on anstract for advance pay as Lieutenant in Captain William Warner's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitnay's Second Worcester County Regiment. He was killed by the Indians in July or August, 1777, according to the records of the First Church of Lancaster.

ENSIGN JONATHAN BALEY (OR BAYLEY) of Lancaster was the son of Jonathan and Bridget Bayley. He was born in that town March 12, 1737-8. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served Ensign in First Lieutenant Josiah Kendall's Company which marched with Daniel Robbins's Company.

ENSIGN TIMOTHY BOUTELL (BOUTOL, BOUTWELL) was born about 1740. He was in the French War service in 1758 as shown in a billeting account, dated January 2, 1759, in which his name appears as a private in Captain Philip Richardson's Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regment, returning from Lake George. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Ensign in Captain John Joslyn's Company, Colonel John Whitcomb's Regiment, serving six days. April 25, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain David Wilder's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, and served through the year. July 6, 1780 he was commissioned Captain of the 1st Leominster Company in Colonel John Rand's 8th Worcester County Regiment, raised to reinforce the Continental Army for three months. He was discharged October 11, 1780. In the Vital Records of Leominster for 1778 he was called Major, and the death is recorded May 25, 1810 of "Col. Timothy Boutwell," aged 70 years.

ENSIGN NATHAN HOWARD of Westminster was the son of Jonathan and Mercy Howard of Malden. He was born October 22, 1733. He served as an Ensign in Captain John Estabrook's Company which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, and joined Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving 9 days. March 14, 1776 he was chosen First Lieutenant in Captain William Edgell's 3rd Company in Colonel Abijah Stearns's 8th Worcester County Regiment. The date of his death is given in the "Westminster Vital Records" as April 5, 1820 and his age as 86. In the "History of Westminster" it is stated that he was "a man of character and enterprise, respected and honored by his fellow citizens who elected him selectman for several years, and called him to other positions of public service."

ENSIGN EDWARD NEWTON of Lancaster was the son of Edward and Elizabeth (Allen) Newton, and was born in Shrewsbury January 18, 1737-8. He and his father were both members of Captain Jabez Beaman's Second Shrewsbury Company, April 7, 1757. On the Lexington adarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Ensign in Captain Daniel Robbins's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment, serving fourteen days. March 20, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Fortunatus Eager's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitcomb's Regiment. March 21, 1777 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Solomon Stuart's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitcomb's Regiment on the Bennington alarm, serving five days. September 1, 1777 he was engaged to serve in Captain William Greenleaf's Company, Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment; and reported October 26, 1777. In a pay abstract dated October 30, 1777, he is credited with rations from September 3 to December 7, 1777. April 12, 1780 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Josiah Whitcomb's Second Worcester County Regiment.

ENSIGN BENJAMIN WEST of Salem was born January 7, 1738-9, and may have been the man who from April 10 to November 14, 1759 was seaman on board the ship "King George", Captain Benjamin Halowell, Jr. According to a return dated at Camp in Cambridge, June 3, 1775, he was commissioned Ensign in this regiment before that date. He was killed in the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, and his mother, Mary West, rendered an account, March 13, 1776, against the Colony of Massachusetts Bay for compensation for clothing lost belonging to her son. An account was rendered the same day, attested by Captain Abner Cranston of clothing and other articles "the property of said West, Lieutenant, who was slain in the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. The sum of £3:17:00 was allowed the heirs of said West, June 22, 1776 for the above named loss.

REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

By Judge Francis M. Thompson of Greenfield, Massachusetts

Including His Narrative of Three Years in the New West, During Which He Took in 1862 a 3000-mile Trip From St. Louis up the Missouri, and Thence Down the Snake and Columbia Rivers to Portland, and to San Francisco, Returning in 1863.

(Continued from Vol. VII, No 1)

applied, and as the boat rushed past the Indians they poured in a fire of bullets and arrows, but luckily without damage to any person. I secured for my collection an arrow which penetrated the smoke stack. As we passed, our two field pieces loaded with grape were let go, and then a second time, as the red-skins skedaddled over the hills. I saw a big rascal in a clump of brush about six rods from the river bank, and fired both barrels of my rifle at him, but with what effect I do not know. I anxiously watched the clump of brush as long as possible, but saw nothing of him. This attack was made in the Crow country, but was probably the work of some other tribe.

When we reached Fort Union we found near by, a large Indian village fully occupied by the Gros Ventres, who were then deeply engaged in a devout religious ceremony. A very large booth had been constructed of poles covered with green branches, and in the center stood a high pole from which the roof sloped to the leafy screen of the sides. This green tent was surrounded by hundreds of Indians of all ages and sexes, peering curiously through the foliage. From the inside issued the tum-tum of the skin drums, the singing of the excited inmates and the tootings of innumerable whistles. Pressing among the crowd who fell away when they discovered a white man, I soon had a peep-hole and obtained a good view of the performances going on within. On the ground surrounding a dry hide tightly stretched over a hole in the earth, sat a half dozen In-

dians solemnly pounding in unison ,upon its surface. Near by were others beating upon skin heads tightly drawn over the ends of sections of hollow logs, something like an ordinary drum. Every man taking active part in the ceremonies was stripped to the skin, with the exception of a breech-cloth. Some were entirely covered with white clay, some streaked with vermillion, some with yellow ochre, and others daubed with black and other colors. The big medicine man, master of ceremonies, was clothed in the most fantastic manner, with his medicine bag and his potent charms displayed in the most attractive manner. He was the chief manager of the concern and conducted himself with the greatest dignity, and with a haughtiness which seemed to indicate his assurance that he had all the gods under his direct command. It seemed as though a hundred men had either long or short whistles in constant use, emitting ear piercing toots, keeping time with the singers and the drums. The singing seemed mostly "Hi-ya!" Hi-ya!" repeated over and over. now soft and low, then swelling to the fullest volume, as the occasion seemed to demand. From the center pole extended several long ropes of rawhide, ending in loops, four or five feet from the ground. In the middle of the ring stood a number of young bucks, their legs and arms lacerated and bleeding, and having in their breasts two parallel cuts perhaps three inches in length and an inch and a half apart. The skin between the cuts was raised and beneath were thrust on each breast, a wooden peg perhaps three inches in length. Soon a young fellow slipped a loop over each button and ran settling back upon the throngs, swiftly around the pole. As the throngs wound up the unearthly music rose to its highest pitch, and the bleeding victim threw himself back upon the ropes and slowly unwound, the whole weight of his body borne by the throngs. At the climax the excitement is most intense. The singers yell their loudest; the drummers pound most furiously, and the whistlers cheeks swell with their efforts to make more noise.

The antics of the medicine man reach the highest flights of the grotesque. While I was an observer one of the victims passed into a swoon. Whether he would again have to make the crucial test, or whether he would be in disgrace. and fail of becoming a warrior, I was unable to learn.

Then followed an impassioned address by a battle scarred old warrior, and at his telling points, the other old men would grunt assent. The whole scene was one long to be remembered, and was worthy the pencil of Frederick Remington. No murmur of pain came from any actor while I watched the scene, and the countenances of some seemed to indicate that their bodies were entirely under the control of their fanatic spirits. I was told that these ceremonies continue for three days and that during that time the chief actors take no food.

Governor Stevens tells this story of these Indians. A Gros Ventre brave was married to a woman of the Blackfeet tribe, and while they were travelling he was killed and his fleet horse was stolen. The assassin proposed that she marry him and go northward, and the Gros Ventres would never learn of the death of their fellow tribesman. She assented, and he gave her the slow animal which he had ridden and took the better one himself. They came to water on their journey, and leaving her horse with him she went for some, and returning, pressed him to go for some also. He consented, and leaving his horse with her, she mounted the fast horse and fled to her own people, who soon took revenge for the murdered man.

Our trip down the Missouri was without special interest excepting as related, and in due time we arrived at the end of our journey and were warmly welcomed. After spending a short time in Massachusetts I took an office at the corner of Broadway and Courtland streets, New York City, for the purpose of disposing of the mining property owned jointly by myself and others. My desk overlooked Courtland street, up which came marching at the close of the civil war, regiment after regiment of ragged and dirty heroes, keeping step to patriotic music, and as they turned the corner into Broadway, they were greeted by thousands of cheers and the shouts of an enthusiastic populace.

Base indeed must have been the man who witnessed these events, without feeling his heart stirred to the depths with patriotic fervor.

I took the precaution before leaving Montana, of having taken from each mine owned by our company, a generous sample of the ore, having the same sealed in a rawhide case, and annexed to each package a statement signed by the miner who took it out as to its genuineness, and the

date of said transaction. This was sworn to before a magistrate, and then the parcels put into large raw-hide packages of convenient size, and sewed up.

I brought with me about a ton of these samples, of course at quite a large expense, but this extra caution paid us well, for of all the men from Montana during that season trying to interest eastern people in mining property, I think I was the only one who met with much success.

After having several assays made at the mint, I arranged with the superintendent of the School of Mines of Columbia College, whereby in consideration of my furnishing them with gold bearing Montana quartz, they would make assays and report to me the result of each separate original parkage. In this way I obtained accurate knowledge of the value of the mining property which I offered for sale. I also had about a pound of selected nuggets of gulch gold, which I exhibited, to show the richness of the country. Somehow these nuggets disappeared like melting snow, but I have no doubt but the missing gold helped to make advantageous sales of our mining property.

I was successful in disposing of mines to the value of upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, principally to merchants in the leather trade, in the district known as "The Swamp." When the option which I first negotiated matured, and the parties accepted the properties, my partners Edgerton, Hall, and Gridley came on from Montana, and we executed the formal conveyances, to the purchasers.

Having disposed of all my mining interests in Montana, I gave up my office in New York and my wife and I returned to our old New England home, where we are content to spend the fast fleeing years, in leading a "simple life."

I have kept in touch with many old friends all these years, and my interest in them, as well as in the great Commonwealth which has arisen from the small beginnings which I helped to foster, is keen and loyal. Occasionally we receive ever-welcome visits from some of my mountain friends, but many have passed over that great divide which separates us from the undiscovered country.

BEING NOTES ON MEN AND THINGS IN JUDGE THOMPSON'S MONTANA REMINISCENCES.

Note No. 1. See reference on page 141, vol. V.

JAMES AND GRANVILLE STUART, the first gold miners of Montana, then located at Gold Creek, came into this region in 1857. They were natives of Virginia, their father being a pioneer in California in 1849, and taking his two sons with him to that country in 1852. When the young men were on their way home in 1857, upon nearing Salt Lake, they found their way blocked by the Mormons, who were preparing to resist the United States troops under Albert Sidney Johnston.

Together with Reece Anderson they turned north and made their way into the Beaver Head and Deer Lodge valleys. James was an associate of mine in the first legislature of Montana, and a charter member of the Historical Society. He posssessed a most adventurous spirit and was the bravest and coolest man, when in a tight place, that I ever knew. He was the leader in the celebrated Yellowstone expedition of 1863, and the survivors of that party all agree that it was only by his coolness, sagacity, and knowledge of Indian character that any of the party escaped. He and fourteen others, among whom were H. A. Bell of our original party, Samuel T. Hauser, and others mentioned in my sketches, left Bannack April 9, 1863, for an exploration of the then little known Yellowstone country. Six others had agreed to meet them at a certain point, but they were stopped and turned back by a large party of Crow Indians. This disappointed party were the lucky discoverers of the mines at Alder Gulch, while on their escape from the Crows.

About two weeks after setting out on their expedition the party under Stuart crossed the divide into the Yellowstone valley, having been detained by meeting Winnemucca and a large party of Bannacks returning from a buffalo hunt. Two days after they were surprised by thirty Crow warriors, who came in their camp. After the men had stood all the provocation they could, and Stuart gave no orders to attack, they made preparations to commence the fracas without orders. Stuart then commanded the chief to call his men off and make them behave themselves, which he did. Placing double guards, they got but little sleep, as thieving Indians were busy all night stealing from the camp. They intended to start at daybreak, and try and escape toward Fort Benton. Before they could get away in the morning they were again surrounded by the Indians, who began to forcibly exchange their poor horses for the best of Stuarts. Seeing that it was time to die or do something, Stuart took his hands full of cartridges and his rifle and told the Indians to mount their horses and leave or he would kill the last one of them, his men all being ready to open fire upon them upon signal from Stuart. The Indians finally weakened and drew off, two chiefs and six others saying they would go with them and get breakfast. After getting their stomachs filled they offered Stuart their robes as a peace offering, but he declined; having, as he told them, nothing to give in return.

Getting rid of their tormentors they followed down the Yellowstone and then up the Big Horn, and upon the night of May 13th, while Stuart and another were on guard, their tents were fired into by a large party of Crows. Ordering the tents pulled down and the men who were able, to crawl out from them and lie close to the ground, they awaited the coming of the morn. In the morning they found that two of the party were fatally wounded, three more severely, and two others wounded, but able to care for themselves. Five horses were killed and several had arrows sticking in their bodies. The Indians could be seen in the hills and ravines near the camp. C. D. Watkins died of his wounds, and E. Bostwick urged his companions to not delay their escape on his account, but to give him his revolver and he would get even with the crew when they came. H. A. Bell was so badly wounded that no one thought he could travel, but upon placing him upon a horse he pluckily held out

and made his escape. Throwing away all their provisions but for a few days supply, after making a fire and drinking coffee, the stricken party mounted their horses, and bore off southeast toward the overland route. As they left, poor Bostwick, placed his pistol to his ear and ended his life. At the supper camp H. T. Geery, who had received an arrow wound, in taking up his rifle from the ground fatally wounded himself in his left breast. Thoughtful to the last of his comrades, he told them they must not remain to wait for his death, and asking them to bury him in his army overcoat, he bade them all good bye, and placing his revolver to his temple he put himself out of misery.

After fifteen days of travel, up pathless canyons and over rocky mountains, the party came upon telegraph poles and rejoiced in civilization.

James Stuart became post trader among the Sioux, and died at Fort Peck, Sept. 30, 1873, aged forty two years.

Granville Stuart, also a charter member of the Historical Society of Montana, was for many years associated with Judge W. B. Dance in mercantile business, and was, by President Cleveland appointed minister to Uraguay and Paraguay, in 1895.

Note No. 2. See reference on page 154, vol. V.

FORT PIERRE, was at the time of my visit one of the principle posts of the American Fur Company. It took its name from Pierre Choteau, Jr., a prominent member of the company. It was of the same general character of the other trading posts, a palisaded headquarters. It was built in 1831, the timber for its construction being floated from sixty miles above. This post was the home of Dorian, a famous interpreter and trader. About 1855 the government purchased it for a military post.

Note No. 3. See reference on page 156, vol. V.

FORT BETHOLD was built in 1845 bu the Fur company and in its day was an important trading post. In 1865 when I knew it several companies of Iowa cavalry were garrisoned there, but soon after Fort Stevenson was erected as a military post and it was abandoned. Nothing remains of it now.

Note No. 4. See reference on page 158, vol. V.

LOUIS DAUPHIN was for a long time a most skillful and fearless hunter on the Missouri. "He seemed to have no fear of Indians and de-

lighted in danger, but his lack of prudence cost him his life, for he was killed by the Sioux near the mouth of Milk river in 1865."

Note No. 5. See reference on page 158, vol. V.

MACKINAW boats were built primarily to go *down* the river, and were flat bottomed and sometimes fifty to seventy-five feet in length and ten or more feet in width, and could carry quite a large amount of freight, even on shoal water. Originally goods were taken up the river in keel boats built in St. Louis and other towns. Sometimes sails were used on these boats, but they were generally cordelled against the current by men tracking along the shore, in the same manner that canal boats are drawn by horses. It was slow and heavy work.

Note No. 6. See reference on page 29, vol. VI.

FORT UNION was in 1862 by far the best of the trading posts on the Missouri river. It was situated on the northerly side of the river about three miles above its junction with the Yellowstone, and was established in 1829. The buildings were enclosed in a high palisade of hewn logs made square and placed close together. The palisade was 220 x 240 feet, and at the southwest and northeast corners were built two story stone mounts or bastions, loopholed with cannon in place. The buildings were well constructed and admirably fitted for the Indian trade, and for many years this station was the general headquarters of the American Fur Company's posts.

In 1833 William Sublette, in the interests of Robert Campbell built Fort William, a few miles below, in opposition to Fort Union, but it went to decay, and the United States government took the site and built thereon Fort Buford, for military purposes. When I first saw Fort Union there were but few Indians there. The enclosed space had been used all winter as a corral for stock, and I thought it about the dirtiest place I ever saw used by white men as a residence.

Note No. 7. See reference on page 30, vol. VI.

CRACON DU NEZ. The Lewis and Clark party were here June 11th 1805. They called the Teton the Tansey river, which at this place frequently flows quite near the Missouri, before discharging into the Marias The high clayey bluffs lying between the two rivers is known as "Cracon du Nez." From this elevation they first caught sight of the glistening snow on the Rocky mountains. Clark speaks of a fine spring where "we refreshed ourselves with a good drink of grog." Near here they killed two brown bears, and made a *cache* in which they deposited "corn, pork, flour, some powder and lead" relieving themselves of over one thousand pounds in weight. Capt. Lewis also killed several fine elk, and hung what they did not need on trees for the use of the men on the boats in the Missouri.

Note No. 8. See reference on page 33 (sixth line) vol. VI.

MALCOLM CLARKE. Perhaps the most picturesque character whom I met in my wanderings in the mountains, was Malcolm Clarke. He was the son of Nathan Clarke, an officer in the U. S. army, and was born at Fort Wayne, in 1817. When yet a lad his father was stationed at Fort Snelling, then in a wilderness, and Malcolm became an expert hunter and trapper while yet in his teens. When seventeen years old he received appointment at West Point, but having cowhided a fellow cadet for some real or fancied wrong, he was court martialed, and dismissed the service. He then sailed for Texas, determined to offer his services to Sam Houston, to aid in the liberation of that country.

On the voyage, the captain of the ship not living up to the agreement entered into for their passage, he excited and commanded a mutiny, and bound the captain and took him as a prisoner to Galveston, where he liberated him and reported to Houston as having been in mutiny on the high seas. After hearing the case, Houston dismissed him, and gave him a commission in the Texas army. When twenty-four years old, he met John Culbertson, in Cincinnati, and enlisted in the service of the American Fur Company for service at their forts upon the upper Missouri. By his dash and daring deeds he obtained great renown among the Indians of the upper river, and took a chieftain's daughter of the Blackfeet tribe, for his wife. He remained in the Fur company's employ for many years, being often in charge of some of their trading posts. He sent his chil-

dren to the states for education, generally visiting them once each year. He was a daring hunter and gained the name of Ne-so-ke-i-yu, (The Four Bears) from having killed four grizzlies in one day. At an encounter with a grizzley he ventured too much, and at one blow the bear took the scalp from the side of his head, and ever after he had great respect for that species of bear. He advised me never to attack one unless I was on horseback or where I could climb a tree. Retiring from the service of the company, he took up the Indian trade upon his own account, taking his goods into the villages and camps of his Indian friends. During this period he passed through marvellous experiences and wonderful escapes. Once while trading in Calf Shirt's village, he caught an Indian stealing, and knocked him down. The village was at once in an uproar and cries of vengeance filled the air. With a derringer in each hand he stood off the crowd until the older men came, when a council was held, and after the truth was known, Calf Shirt declared "This man shall live; he has a big heart!" At one time when in charge of Fort Benton, he gave shelter to a half dozen Blackfeet who were pursued by three hundred Arickarees. These Indians after spending nearly all their ammunition and arrows in an attack on the fort were obliged to draw off in defeat. He had long had a feud with McKinzie, an old mountain man, and by some chance they met in 1863, on the Fur company boat, below Fort Union. Frank Worden, an old friend of mine who was present informed me that McKinzie, who had been drinking, began the quarrel at this time, which ended in the shooting of McKinzie by Clarke, as he claimed, in self defence. By Worden's advice Clarke and his young son Nathan, left the boat at Fort Union and drove to Fort Benton by the Milk river route. No judicial notice was ever taken of this affray.

Retiring from the Indian trade, Mr. Clarke gathered his family together and established a ranch on the Prickley Pear, in 1864, and it was here in the spring of 1865 that I was his guest. At that time many of his wife's Indian relatives were hanging about his premises, living upon his lavish generosity. Not long after I was there, his own and his Indian guest's horses were stolen. After examination, the Indians declared the thieves to have been white men. The visitors ill will was aroused when all the horses bearing Clarke's brand came straggling back into camp. They suspected that Clarke had played them falsely.

(*To be Continued*)

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COLONEL JOHN NIXON'S REGIMENT

16TH REGIMENT PROVINCIAL ARMY, APRIL-JULY, 1775.
5TH REGIMENT ARMY OF THE UNITED COLONIES, JULY-DECEMBER, 1775.

By Frank A. Gardner, M. D.

This regiment was made up largely of Middlesex County men. Two of the companies, however, were composed mostly of men from New Hampshire, and one of men from Maine. Still another was largely composed of men from Salem, Marblehead and towns in Essex County.

The Field and Staff officers of this regiment April 24, 1775, were as follows:

Colonel John Nixon, Sudbury.
Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Nixon, Framingham.
Major John Buttrick, Concord.
Adjutant Abel Holden, Sudbury.
Quartermaster John White, Haverhill.
Surgeon Isaac Spafford, Haverhill.
Surgeon's Mate Josiah Langdon, Sudbury.

"In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, May 9, 1775.
To the Hon'le the Provincial Congress.
Gent.—

Capt. Ebenr Winship Having Inlisted in Company and being Desirous of Joyning Colo. John Nixon's Rejemet, We Recommend that Said

Ebenr Winship Capt., and Will'm Warren, Lieut. and Richard Buckminster, Ensn be Commissioned accordingly,

Benja. White
Chairman."

A list published May 23, 1775, contains the following names of officers of this regiment:

"Colonel John Nixon
Lt. Colonel Thomas Nixon
Major Butrick or Cudworth

Captains.

William Smith	Joseph Butler
John Lealand	Benj. Bullard
John Hayward	William Buckminster
Thadeus Russell	Micajah Gleason
Thomas Drury	Abisha Brown."

"Cambridge, 26th May, 1775.

To the Honorable Committee of Safety.

Gentlemen. We, the Subscribers being highly disatisfied with the alteration that is likely to take place respecting the Field Officers in Colo. Nixon's Rigement, as we took our Inlisting Orders under Coln. John Nixon, Lieut. Coln John Nixon, Lieut.. Coln Jacob Miller & Major Nathaniel Cudworth with an expectation that they would be Established Field Officers of the Rigement, especially as we were at the Choice of sd Gentlemen & knowing the Choice to be Fair and above board and every Gentleman Present appeared to be pleased with the same, therefore think it a great Greavance that after they had ben at the trouble of Recruiting and had almost Filled up our Respective Companys before we had any notice of aney design to make an Alteration in the Leaders of said Rigement and further that we were to come to a New Choice with Men that were not Nominated with us to be in our Coine as Capts; and furthermore that several Lieuts. should Act in behalf of their Capts. they being not present, and one Lieut.; saying at the same time he had not thought of tarreing in the Armey, of which we think to be sufficient reasons that the first Choice stand Fair and the last the Contrary, therefore as we are Earnest to be in the Service in the Defence of our Country, (if the last

Choice is Established) beg leave to have the Priviledge of Joining in some other Rigement, and as in Dutey bound shall ever pray—

Benja. Bullard, Capt.
Thos. Drury, Capt.
John Leland, Capt.
Thadeus Russell, Capt."

"Cambridge, 30th May, 1775.

Sir;

Wee, the Subscribers, Commanders in the Regiment under your Command Beg leave, (with great Concern) to acquaint you that the Respective Companys whom we have the Honour to Command, are nearly Compleat in Numbers, Some of Which is destitute of arms and Blankets notwithstanding, We have made aplication to the Respective Towns to which they belonged to supply them their advance pay Voted them by the Congress Withheld—the regiment unsettled—Our Commissions Retained, all Which Seems to Create a general uneasiness among the Soldiers.

To prevent Which We desire you would Represent these Facts, to that Department to which it belongs in Order to have these Our Complaints Redressed.

Humbly submitting Our Cause to Our Colonel in full Confidence that he Will assist us in this Our Petition.

Joseph Butler — Abishai Brown
Micajah Gleason — William Smith
Moses McFarland — David Moore

To Col. Nixon."

In Committee of Safety, June 2, 1775, the following action was taken.

"Col. John Nixon having satisfied this Committee that his regiment is in good forwardness, he had a certificate thereof, and a recommendation to the Provincial Congress that said regiment be commissioned accordingly."

"To His Excellancy General Ward & c.

May it Please your Excellancy

the petition of the Subscribing Soldiers of the Compy Commanded by Capt. Drury Humbly showeth . . . that your petitions With the utmost

Concern find themselves Shifted Out of Col. Nixon's Regt. into that of Col. Gardner. Contrary to Our Inclination and Repugnant to the promise made us at Our Inlisting. Wee therefore beg that your Excellency Would be Pleased to Continue us in the Regiment Wee Engaged to Serve in—and not to be removed in the Future Only to Serve the Malevolent Disposition of our Captain—and as in Duty Bound shall pray.
Camp Cambridge, 5th June, 1775."
Signed by twenty-eight men.

"A list of officers in Colo. John Nixon's Rigemen. Viz.—

Thos. Nixon, Lt. Colo.
John Butrick, Major.

Joseph Butler, Capt.
Silas Walker, Lt.
Edwd. Richardson, Ensn.

Abisha Brown, Capt.
Daniel Tayler, Lt.
Silas Mann, Ensn.

Wm. Smith, Capt.
John Heald, Lt.
John Hartwell, Ensn.

Micaja Gleason, Capt.
James Kimball, Lt.
Willm Ryan, Ensn.

Moses McFarland, Capt.
David Bradley, Lt.
Jacob Quimby, Ensn.

David Moore, Capt.
Micah Goodenow, Lt.
Jona. Hill, Ensn.

Staff Officers:
Isaac Spafford, Surgeon.
————, Mate Surgeon.

Abel Holden, Adjutant.
John White, Quartermaster."

Upon the back of the above document was written the following: "Colo. John Nixon's return of officers in his Rijement Recommended for Commission June 5, 1775."

In records of the Committee of Safety we find the following under date of June 14, 1775. "A number of men belonging to the Company of Captain Drury, having petitioned that they be permitted to join, some, the regiment commanded by Col. Gardner and others the regiment commanded by Colo. Nixon; and the committee having considered their several requests, *Voted*, as the opinion of this committee, that said company be joined to such regiment as it shall appear the major part of said company are in favor of when called upon for that purpose."

When the Regiments in the Provincial Army were numbered this was known as the 16th. It was stationed at Cambridge.

"Return of two Companies in Colo. Nixon's Regiment to be Commissioned

Thomes Drury, Capt.
William Maynard, Lieut.
Joseph Mixer, Ensign.

Samuel McCob, Captain.
Benjamin Pattee, Lieut.
John Riggs, Ensign.

June 16, 1775. Jno. Nixon, Col.

In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, June 16, 1775.

The Above Officers are approved of and recommended to the Honble Congress to be Commissioned.

Benj. White, Chairman."

From another record we find the following were also commissioned on that date,

"Capt. Ebeneazer Winship.
Lieut. William Warren.
Ensign Richard Buckminster."

Frothingham in his History of the Seige of Boston says in regard to this Regiment at the Battle of Bunker Hill:

"John Nixon's Regiment from Middlesex and Worcester was neither full nor commissioned, and both the returns and details of it are very meagre. Only three companies appear to be listed dated June 16th, and the officers of them are all that appear to have been commissioned at this time. Colonel Sweet states that three hundred were led onto the field by Colonel Nixon who behaved with great gallantry. He was badly wounded and carried off the hill." In a list of the casualities of this battle given 4 Force 11, 1628, this regiment is listed as having "3 killed and missing."

"Return of the officers of Col. Nixon's Reg't Cambridge 23d June, 1775.

Viz.: 1 Col., 1 Lieut. Do., 1 Major, 9 Captains, 9 Lieutenants and 9 Ensigns Commissioned, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Surgeon, 1 Mate Present but Not Commissioned.

N. B. 1 Captain and his officers Recruiting in the country Not Commissioned but Dayley Expected in Camp.

Thomas Nixon, Lt. Col."

When the Army of the United Colonies was organized early in July, 1775, the regiment became No. 5 in that service. Doctor Isaac Spafford was chosen Surgeon of this regiment in Provincial Congress July 5, 1775. He had served from April 19, 1775, the time of his enlistment. The principal towns represented in this regiment were as follows:

Captains.

Moses McFarland, Haverhill, (N. H.) Plastow, Hawke, etc.
Joseph Butler, Concord, Newburyport, etc.
Ebenezer Winship, Salem, Marblehead, Waltham, etc.
Abishai Brown, Concord, Ashby, Acton, etc.
Micajah Gleason, Framingham, Salem, Haverhill, etc.
David Moore, Sudbury, Framingham, etc.
William Smith, Lincoln, Acton, etc.
Jeremiah Gilman, Haverhill, Plastow and other N. H. Towns.
Samuel McCobb, Georgetown, Woolwich, Wiscussett and other Maine towns.

Under date of July 16, 1775, we find that Lieutenants Jonathan Hill and Joseph Mixer were recruiting officers.

A letter from General Lee to the Committee of Supplies was written the last of July requesting 73 firearms and bayonets for this regiment and other firearms were requested August 8th.

A return of Captain Joseph Butler's Company made September 30, 1775, gave the name of the junior commissioned captain—"Ensign Nathan Wheeler, of Roilstown."

From returns dates September 30th and October 18th, 1775, we note that this regiment was stationed during this period on Winter Hill.

The following table shows the strength of the regiment during the different months of the year:

	Com. Off.	Staff.	Non-Com.	Rank and file.	Total.
June 9, 1775	18*	.	40	235†	293
July, 1775	17	5	53‡	412	487
Aug. 18, 1775	26	3	52	417	498
Sept. 23, 1775	25	3	46	423	497
Oct. 17, 1775	18	4	42	415	479
Nov. 18, 1775	17	4	39	396	456
Dec. 30, 1775	23	5	51	419	498

The commissioned officers whose records are given in connection with the story of this regiment, attained rank as follows during the Revolution: brigadier general 1, colonel 2, lieut. colonel 3, major 1, captain 15, first lieutenant 13, second lieutenant 4, surgeon 1 and surgeon's mate 1. Nineteen of these officers had seen service in the French and Indiana wars or in Provincial Militia, including ten who had held commissions in such service; 1 colonel, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants and 3 ensigns.

COLONEL JOHN NIXON of Sudbury was the son of Christopher and Mary (Sever) Nixon of Framingham. He was born in the last named town March 1, 1727. He joined the Colonial troops under Sir William Pepperill in 1735, and from that date until 1775 was in the Army of the Province continuously except in 1752-5, when he was at his home in Framingham. From March 27th to September 8, 1775, he was a Lieuten-

*Not including field officers.

†Including drummers and fifers.

‡Including drummers and fifers. (July-Dec. inclusive.)

ant in Captain Ebeneazer Neal's Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regiment. During this service is recorded four and a half days' travel from Albany to Boston. September 9, 1755, he was appointed Captain of a company "lately commanded by Captain Jonathan Hoar" and he served until January 3, 1756. In the following year he was Captain of a company in Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment. His birthplace and residence being given as Framingham; age 27; occupation farmer. On the 11th of October of that year he was "in Camp at Fort William Henry." The full extent of this service was from February 18th to December 26, 1756. In September-November, 1758, he also commanded a company in Colonel Ruggles's Regiment. From March 31st to December 31, 1759. he commanded a company in Colonel Ruggles's Regiment on an expedition to Crown Point. His residence at this time was given as Sudbury. August 13, 1761, he was given three months' advance pay for service in Sir Richard Saltonstall's Regiment and he served continuously until January 1, 1763. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he commanded a company of Minute Men from Sudbury in Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Colonel of the 16th Regiment in the Provincial Army. His regiment was stationed at Cambridge. He was Field Officer of the Main Guards, May 20, 1775, and Officer of the Day for June 1st. His commission as Colonel was ordered June 3, 1775, and he again served as Officer of the Day June 9th. A portion of this regiment at least, was led on the field by Nixon at the battle of Bunker Hill, Colonel Sweet stating that the number so engaged was 300. Frothingham in his "History of the Seige of Boston" states that Colonel Nixon "behaved with great gallantry" and that he was badly wounded and carried off the Hill. When the Army was reorganized, Colonel Nixon's Regiment became the 5th in the Army of the United Colonies, and was assigned to Brigadier General Sullivan's Brigade, forming a part of the second division of the Army under Major General Lee, to be stationed at Winter Hill. He served through the year, and January 1, 1776, became Colonel of the 4th Regiment in the Continental Army. He served in that regiment until August 9, 1776, when he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in the Continental Army. He was placed in command of the forces stationed at Governor's Island in New York Harbor. At the first Battle of Stillwater, September 19, 1777, General Nixon's Brigade, with that of Generals Grover and Paterson, composed the right

wing under the immediate command of General Gates. During this day a cannon ball passed so near his head that it impaired the sight of one eye and the hearing of one ear. He continued to serve, however, until September 12, 1780, when he resigned owing to ill health occasioned by his wound. He retired to private life and kept a Tavern at Rice's End, Framingham. He went to Middlebury, Vt., about 1806, and died there in March 24, 1815, "age 90". The history of Sudbury refers to him as follows:

He "was preeminently a military man by nature and experience and had known much of the hard fare and rough companionship of the army. He was a man of affable address and quiet demeanor. He was light complexioned, medium size and cheerful disposition. He was a decided man and a great lover of children. One of his grandsons informed the author of the 'History of Sudbury' that the old man used to take his grandchildren on his knee and sing war songs to them, and one that he remembered was as follows:

'O, why, soldiers, why should we be melancholy, boys? whose business 'tis to die
Though cold, hot and dry we are always bound to follow, boys, and scorn to fly.'"

LIEUTENANT COLONEL THOMAS NIXON of Framingham was the son of Christopher and Mary (Sever) Nixon, and brother of General Nixon. He was born April 27, 1736. From April 5th to December 15, 1755, he was a private in Captain Ebeneazer Newall's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment. From February 18th to December 3, 1756, he was Ensign in the company of his brother Captain John Nixon, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment, on an expedition to Crown Point. In this record his age is given as twenty, occupation farmer, birthplace and residence Framingham. In 1759 he was "Cominshears in Conll John Jones Regiment", as recorded in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 97, page 152A. From March 31st to November 30 of that year he served as a Lieutenant in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year. January 1, 1776, he became Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regiment in the Continental Army, holding that rank until the 9th of August, 1776, when he was

promoted Colonel succeeding his brother, who had been made Brigadier General. January 1, 1777, he became Colonel of the 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He served most of the time in the Highlands of the Hudson until he retired, January 1, 1781. He was a brave and efficient officer. He removed from Framingham to Southborough about 1784, and died on the passage from Boston to Portsmouth, August 12, 1800. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

MAJOR JOHN BUTTRICK of Concord was the son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Wooley) Buttrick. He was born in Concord, July 20, 1731. From a return dated September 17, 1755, we learn that he was in Colonel Joseph Buckminster's Regiment in an expedition against Crown Point. April 25, 1757, he was in Colonel James Minot's 1st Concord Company. August 17, 1757, he was a private in Ensign Jonathan Brooks's Company, Colonel Joseph Buckminster's Regiment for the relief of Fort William Henry. In 1771 he was a Lieutenant in Captain James Minot's 1st Concord Company, in Colonel Elisha Jones' 1st Middlesex County Regiment. Shattuck in his "History of Concord" makes the following mention of Major Buttrick in connection with the Battle of April 19, 1775: "His name will be handed down to posterity with distinguished honor for the noble stand he took and the bravery he manifested in leading a gallant band of militiamen on to meet the invading army at the North Bridge and for beginning the first forcible resistance to the British Army. He then returned the fire by commanding his own company to fire by saying, 'Fire, fellow soldirs, for God's sake, Fire!' and discharged his own gun at the same instant." Frothingham, in his "Siege or Boston", page 65, states that John Buttrick was Major in Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment on the Lexington alarm. The author has, however, failed to find any record in the archives, of such service on the Lexington alarm. In a list of staff officers made about April 25, 1775, Juhn Buttrick's name appears as Major in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he continued to serve in that rank through the year. January 24, 1776, he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment raised in Lincoln and Middlesex Counties as a reenforcement to serve in Boston until April 1, 1776; reported chosen to serve in place of Colonel Michael Jackson. From October 19th to November 26th, 1779, he was Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Samuel Denny's Second Regiment, raised for

three months service in order to march to Claverack, N. Y. He died May 16, 1791, at the age of 60.

ADJUTANT ABEL HOLDEN of Sudbury was the son of Jonas and Abigail (Kendall) Holden. He was born October 2, 1752. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain John Nixon's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment, serving five days. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Adjutant in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant and Adjutant in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he continued in that command until June 3, 1783. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati and subsequently upon his removal to New York city he joined the New York State Society in 1809. He died August 2, 1818,

QUARTERMASTER JOHN WHITE of Haverhill was engaged to serve in that rank in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment April 24, 1775, and he continued through the year. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant and Quartermaster in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Quartermaster in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he held that rank until July 29, 1777, when he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General. A certificate signed by Brigadier General John Nixon stated that he had served as Quartermaster in his Brigade "with Honour to himself and the Country Who Employed Him"

SURGEON ISAAC SPOFFORD (also called SPAFFORD) of Haverhill was the son of Captain Ebenezer and Sarah (Colman) Spofford. He was born in Georgetown, April 10, 1752. He was a student of Dr. James Brickett, Sr., of Haverhill, later Brigadier General Brickett in the Revolution. He settled in Wenham. He was engaged April 19, 1775, as Surgeon in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. April 24, 1775, he was engaged to serve in the same rank in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment in the Provincial Army and he served under that officer through the year. During 1776 he was Surgeon in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment in the Conti-

nental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Surgeon in Colonel John Crane's Artillery Regiment. He served in this Regiment until March 13, 1778. He died in his 34th year of pulmonary consumption and was buried, according to the Beverly records, June 16. 1786.

SURGEON'S MATE JOSIAH LANGDON of Sudbury was the son of Nathaniel and Abigail (Harris) Langdon. He was born March 3, 1746, and graduated at Harvard College, 1764. He was principal of the North Latin Grammar school in Boston for a short time. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Surgeon's Mate in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and he served at least until September 30, 1775, on which date he was reported sick and absent. He died in Sudbury in or about 1779.

CAPTAIN ABISHIA BROWN of Concord was the son of Abishia and Mary (Farrar) Brown. He was born in Concord, May 2, 1746. April 24, 1775, he joined Colonel John Nixon's Regiment as Captain and served through the year. April 11, 1777, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Josiah Whitney's Regiment and served at Hull until December 1, 1776. From April to January he was sick with small-pox. In 1777 he was a Captain in Colonel John Robinson's Regiment, and March 2, 1788, became Major in that command. From April 1st to December 31, 1778, he was Major in Colonel John Jacob's Light Infantry Regiment. He died April 13, 1799, in Concord, aged 55 years.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BUCKMINSTER of Hutchinson was born in Framingham December 15, 1736. His name appeared in an alarm list in Colonel Buckminster's Framingham Company under command of Captain Lieutenant Jeremiah Belknap April, 1757. He removed in 1757 to Barre. He was Captain of the Second Rutland District Company in Colonel John Murray's Regiment, June, 1771. His name appears as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment in a list of officers of the Massachusetts Militia but this is evidently a mistake because a record elsewhere shows that he entered the service April 24, 1775, as Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Jona. Brewer's Regiment, and he fought with that Regiment at Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775. His service in that Battle is thus described, by Frothingham in his "Seige of Boston": "Lieutenant Colonel Buckminster acquired much reputation for bravery and prudence in the Battle. Just

before they retreated he received a dangerous wound from a musket ball entering his right shoulder and coming out in the middle of his back. This made him a cripple during his life. He was much respected for his sterling integrity and patriotism and kindness of heart." In a muster roll of Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army for January-November, 1776, dated Ticonderoga, we read: "Appointed January 1, 1776; reported at New Rutland on account of wound received June 17, 1775, at Bunker Hill." In another list his name appears in a list of Field Officers on the Continental Army in 1776, "Colonel Brewer's Regiment, Major General Green's Division." In the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 235, Page 326-8, we find a petition as to "his restoration to good will and citizenship", in which it is stated he was wounded at Bunker Hill. His residence at this time was Barre. He did not live long after the war as the following inscription on his monument bears witness: "Sacred to the memory of Colonel William Buckminster, an industrious farmer, a useful citizen, an honest man, a sincere Christian, a brave officer and a friend to his country; in whose cause he graviously fought and was dangerously wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill. He was born December 15, A. D. 1736. Died June 22, A. D. 1786." (See Col. J. Brewer's Reg't.)

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BULLARD of Sherborne. His name appears in a list of officers of this regiment dated May 23, 1775. But this is evidently a mistake as he was engaged for service in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, April 24, 1775, and his record will be given in the history of that Regiment.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH BUTLER of Concord served as a Corporal in Captain John Johnson's Company, Colonel Winslow's Regiment from May 31st to September 12, 1753. October 11, 1756, his name appears as Ensign in the Colonel's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's' Regiment, at Fort William Henry. Heitman state that he was Lieutenant of a company of Minute Men at Concord, April 19, 1775, but no such record is found in the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War". April 24, 1775, he enlisted as Captain in the First Company in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army.

CAPTAIN THOMAS DRURY of Framingham was the son of Uriah and Martha (Eames) Drury, and was born April 12, 1743. April 22, 1756, he enlisted in Colonel Abraham Williams's regiment for service at Crown Point. His name also appears in the Training Band list of Captain Henry Emms's. In August, 1771, he was Ensign in Captain Joseph Eme's 2nd Framingham Company in Colonel John Noyes's Regiment in the South Part of the 3rd Middlesex Regiment. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year. He lived on the old homestead place in Framingham and died April 19, 1790.

CAPTAIN JEREMIAH GILMAN of Plaistow, N. H., was engaged April 24, 1775, to command a Company in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. November 8, 1776, he was appointed Captain in Colonel John Stark's 1st Regiment New Hampshire Line, and on the 2nd of April, 1777, was promoted Major. September 20, 1777, he was made Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Nathan Hale's 2nd Regiment, New Hampshire Line. He was transferred to Colonel Joseph Cilley's 1st Regiment, New Hampshire Line, March 5, 1788, and he served until he resigned March 24, 1780. Heitman states that he died March 24, 1823.

CAPTAIN MICAJAH GLEASON of Framingham was the son of Ebenezer and Thankful (Johnson) Gleason. He was born in that town October 11, 1740. In 1758 he served on an expedition to Cape Breton. From April 2nd to November 27, 1759, he was a private in Captain John Nixon's Company, Colonel Ruggles Regiment on an expedition to Crown Point. From April 25th to December 3rd, 1761, he was Sergeant in the same company. He marked on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, as Captain of a Company of Minute Men from Framingham. April 23, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. January 1, 1776, he became Captain in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regiment Continental Army, and he served in that command until September 16, 1776, when he was killed in the Battle of Harlem Plains.

CAPTAIN JOHN HAYWARD of Acton was a Corporal in Captain

Samuel Dakin's Company from September 15th to December 14, 1755. In 1771 he was Quratermaster in Captain Andrew Conant's Troop of Horse, in Colonel Elisha Jones's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment. April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men in Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment. In a list published May 23, 1775, his name appears as one of the Captains in Colonel John Nixon's Provincial Army Regiment.

CAPTAIN JOHN LELAND. This name appears in a list of officers of this regiment, dated March 23, 1775, but no further record of his connection with the regiment has been found. He was a Captain in Colonel Ephraim Doolittle's Regiment and his record has already been given in the history of that organization.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL McCOBB of Georgetown (Maine District) was the son of Samuel McCobb. August 17, 1771, he was Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Moulton's Second Georgetown Company, Colonel William Lithgow's First Lincoln County Regiment. He commanded a company of Minute Men on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775; reported enlisted April 24, 1775. May 14, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's regiment and he served through the year. January 1, 1776, he became Captain in Colonel Joseph Frye's Regiment, according to a list of Seacoast officers stationed at Falmouth, Casco Bay. January 23, 1776, he was chosen Major of Colonel John Robinson's Regiment for service until April 1, 1776. February 8, 1776, he was commissioned Colonel of the 1st Lincoln County Regiment. June 7, 1777, he was chosen Colonel of a regiment to be raised in Cumberland and Lincoln Counties for service in an expedition to St. John's River, Nova Scotia, under Brigadier General Moses Little. May, 1778, Colonel McCobb was superintendent of the enlistments for Lincoln County. July 5, 1777, in a general return of the Massachusetts Militia his name appears as Colonel of the 1st Lincoln County Regiment, and he also held the same rank in General Lovell's Brigade in which he has a record of service from June 24th to September 26, 1779. April 25, 1781, he was engaged as Colenel and served seven months, five days in the Eastern department. In the History of Booth Bay, Me., it is stated that he later obtained the rank of Brigadier General.

CAPTAIN MOSES McFARLAND of Haverhill was engaged April 23, 1775, as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. He served through the year in that command. He was badly wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. March 16, 1779, he was transferred to the Corps of Invalids, as his wound, received at Bunker Hill, would not permit of his continuing in active service in the field. His name appears as Captain of a company of invalids stationed in Boston in Colonel Nichola's Regiment in October, 1779. He continued to serve until 1783. Heitman gives the date of his death as March, 1790, but this is evidently a mistake as the Haverhill Records contain the following entry: "Major Moses McFarland (Husband of Eunice Clark)" died April 6, 1802.

CAPTAIN DAVID MOORE of Sudbury was the son of Uriah and Abigail (Haynes) Moore, and was born in that town June 21, 1722. April 25, 1757, he was a Sergeant in Captain Josiah Richardson's 2nd Sudbury Company. In 1764 (probably) he was Ensign in Captain Elijah Smith's Second Sudbury Company, Colonel Elisha Jones's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment. In 1771 he was Captain of a Troop of Horse in Colonel John Chandler's 1st Worcester County Regiment. He was probably the man of that name from Sudbury who served as private in Captain Aaron Haynes's Company, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775, to Cambridge, and served four days. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and he served through the year. He was probably the same officer who was commissioned June 17, 1779, as Captain in Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment, and who was appointed September 2, 1779, as Captain in Colonel John Jacob's Light Infantry Regiment. In all probability he was the same officer who was appointed June 29, 1780, as Captain in Lieutenant Colonel Enoch Hallett's 1st Barnstable County Regiment, engaging in the service at Rhode Island until his discharge, October 20, 1780. He was evidently wounded at some time as his name appears in a list of Sudbury soldiers who were wounded, published in the "History of Sudbury."

CAPTAIN THADDEUS RUSSELL of Sudbury was born about 1740, and he enlisted first as a private in Captain Moses Maynard's 1st Sudbury Company, April 26, 1757. March 23, 1759, at the age of nineteen, residence Sudbury, he enlisted in Colonel Elisha Jones's Regiment for service in Canada. He was apprenticed to Ebenezer King. He was a member of Major Joseph Curtis's 1st Foot Company in Sudbury. From November 2, 1759, to May 14, 1760, he was a private in Captain Daniel Fletcher's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment in Nova Scotia. From March 22nd, to November 20, 1762, he was a private in Captain Gray's Company. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Cudworth's Company of Minute Men in Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment. In a list of officers of this regiment published May 23, 1775, his name appears as one of the Captains and on May 26th, he with three other Captains, signed a protest against changes in the Field Officers of this Regiment. His connection with this regiment evidently ceased soon after this, as in June he was a Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment. In a Muster Roll of this last named regiment, dated August 1st, 1775, an entry giving Captain Russell's name states that he was engaged April 24, 1775, but the two documents above cited prove that he was in Colonel John Nixon's Refiiment in the latter part of May. He evidently changed on account of dissatisfaction expressed in one of the above quoted documents, and served through the remainder of the year in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM SMITH of Lincoln probably was one of the men of that name who served in the French War, but the large number of "William Smiths" in that service makes it impossible to identify his record. He commanded a company of Minute Men in Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24th of that year he was engaged to serve in that rank in Colonel John Nixon's regiment and he served through the year. No further record has been found.

CAPTAIN EBENEZER WINSHIP of Salem was probably the man of that name who was a resident of Charlestown, and served as a private from September 15th to December 16th, 1755, in Colonel Gridley's Regiment in an expedition to Crown Point; and who was appointed May 20,

1767, as 4th Brigadier* to rank as Colonel in the Governor's Troop of Horse. April 23, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and he served through the year. His residence at this time was given as Salem. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he held that rank until August 11th of that year, when he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Issues.

*A term used in some European armies to distinguish a cavalry subaltern of the grade of a corporal.—F. A. G.

FIRST LIEUTENANT DAVID BRADLEY of Haverhill was the son of Captain Daniel and Elizabeth (Ayer) Bradley. He was born in Haverhill September 20, 1740. He may have been the man of that name who was Captain of the 2nd Haverhill Company in Colonel John Osgood, Junior's 4th Essex County Regiment in 1762. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain Joseph Eaton's Company, Colonel Samuel Johnson's Regiment. May 23, 1775, he enlisted as Lieutenant in Captain Moses McFarland's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and served probably through the year. From December, 1775, to October, 1776, he served as Quartermaster in Colonel Henry Knox's Regiment, Continental Artillery. February 3, 1777, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain Moses Greenleaf's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Francis's 11th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. February 20, 1777, he was recommended for commission as First Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Eaton's Company in the same regiment. Reported resigned November 7, 1777. He died in Haverhill May 2, 1811, aged 70 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT MICAH GOODENOW of Sudbury was the son of Daniel and Sarah (Rice) Goodenow. He was born in that town February 21, 1731-2. April 25, 1757, he was a member of Captain Josiah Richardson's 2nd Sudbury Company, and in May, 1768, he was commissioned Ensign in Captain Wood's 3rd Sudbury Company, Colonel Elisha Jones's Regiment. He was Sergeant in Captain John Nixon's Company

of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain David Moore's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year. He died in Wayland (which was formerly East Sudbury) December 17, 1813, aged 82 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN HEALD (also given John, Junior) of Acton served in 1764 in Captain Samuel Hayward's (Acton) Company, Colonel Elisha Jones's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment. He served as Lieutenant in Captain John Howard's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain William Smith's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and served through the year. March 4, 1776, he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Israel Heald's Company, Colonel Eleazer Brooks's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment. March 27, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Simon Hunt's 5th Company in the same regiment. In a list of rations allowed from July 11, 1776, to November 30, 176, as a Lieutenant in Captain Joshua Parker's Company, Colonel Jonathan Reed's 6th Middlesex County Regiment, we find that he was credited with 143 days' allowance.

FIRST LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN HEYWOOD, of Worcester, was born in that town October 25, 1746, the son of Phineas and Elizabeth (Moore) Heywood. He learned the carpenter's trade but by studying duriug his spare time, fitted himself for college. He entered Harvard in 1771 and is said to have become remarkably proficient in mathematics. It is stated that he was Ensign of a student company and took part in the pursuit of the British on the Lexington alarm. In the "Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati" it is stated that he was commissioned Lieutenant in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, in May, 1775, but the writer has failed to find confirmation of the same in the records in the Massachusetts Archives. January 1, 1776, he became Second Lieutenant in Captain Adam Wheeler's Company in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. He was appointed Regimental Paymaster, September 14, 1776. January 1, 1777, he was made Lieutenant and Paymaster of Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and April 10th was promoted Captain. He served until June

3, 1783. After the war he served on a committee to adjust the accounts of the officers and soldiers of the Massachusetts Line. He returned to Worcester in 1784, to the management of his farm. He was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1802, holding the office until September, 1811, when the seats of all the judges of that court were declared vacant. He was for many years an acting magistrate of the county and a Trustee of Leicester Academy. He was chosen one of the presidential electors on two occasions. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati and the first assistant treasurer. He died in Worcester, December 6, 1816.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JAMES KIMBALL of Haverhill enlisted April 23, 1775, in that rank in Captain Micajah Gleason's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and served probably through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Micajah Gleason's Company, Colonel Nixon's Regiment. In a return of men, dated Springfield, January 25, 1776, his name appears with a list of men in Colonel Nixon's Regiment who were to serve for the month of January, 1776.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM MAYNARD of Framingham was the son of Jonathan and Martha (Gleason) Maynard. He was born in Framingham March 29, 1745. From April 19th to November 20, 1762, he was a private in Captain James Gray's Company. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Drury's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served evidently through the year. In a list of officers, however, of Colonel Thomas Gardner's Regiment, dated June 2, 1775, his name appears as Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Drury's Company in that Regiment, with the statement that his commission was ordered in Provincial Congress. June 1, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant in Captain Moses McFarland's Company in Colonel Louis Nichola's Regiment of Invalids stationed at Boston. In a muster roll dated October, 1779, his name appears holding the same office under the above named officer, with the statement that he was appointed June 1, 1779, to serve during the war. He was reported furloughed June 30, 1780, for forty days. Heitman states that his term of service dated to June, 1783. Barry, in his" History of Framingham" states that he was town clerk there for six years, and Temple in his history of the same town

states that about 1788 he went to South Carolina and kept school, and died there. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

FIRST LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN PATTEE of Georgetown (Maine District) enlisted April 24, 1775, as Sergeant in Captain Samuel McCobb's Company, probably on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 19, 1775, he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel McCobb's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and served through the year. January 1, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel McCobb's Company, Colonel Joseph Frye's Regiment for Sea Coast Defense and stationed at Falmouth, Casco Bay.

FIRST LIEUTENANT DANIEL TAYLOR of Concord was a private in Captain James Reed's Company from July 16th to November 28, 1761, in an expedition to Crown Point. June 5, 1775, his commission was ordered in Provincial Congress as Lieutenant in Captain Abishia Brown's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. In a return of the Company dated September 31, 1775, he was reported discharged. In a list of men drafted from Concord, who paid money in lieu of service, dated May 15, 1777, said Taylor is said to have paid five pounds.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SILAS WALKER of Concord served as Corporal in Captain Daniel Brewer's Company, Colonel Whitcomb's Regiment from August 22nd to December 14, 1756, on an expedition to Crown Point. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Butler's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and served through the year. During 1776, he was First Lieutenant in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. From an order on the paymaster dated November 28, 1776, we learn that at that time Captain Butler's Company was commanded by Lieutenant Walker. January 1, 1777, he became First Lieutenant in Colonel Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he served until April 9, 1779; reported a "supernumary officer". From November 1, 1779, to February 9, 1780, he was a Captain in Major Nathaniel Heath's Regiment, serving on guard duty about Boston. July 13, 1780, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Abraham Andrews's Company, Colonel Cyprian Howe's 4th Middlesex

County Regiment, and he served to October 30th of that year on detached service to reinforce the Continental Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM WARREN of Waltham was engaged April 23, 1775, to serve in that rank in Captain Ebenezer Winship's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. June 16, 1775, his commission was ordered to be delivered. He was severely wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill, and rendered incapable of any further service. He died July 29, 1831.

SECOND LIEUTENANT RICHARD BUCKMINSTER of Salem held that rank in Captain Ebenezer Winship's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, his date of enlistment being April 23, 1775. He held the same rank in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army through the year 1776. January 1, 1777, he became Adjutant of Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and held that office for twenty-seven months. He served two months, ten days as Lieutenant. June 10, 1779, he was promoted Captain, having resigned his adjutancy April 1, 1779. He died November 11, 1779, and half pay was continued to his family to November 11, 1786.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN HARTWELL of Lincoln was born about 1747. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain William Smith's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment. April 24, 1775, he "enlisted" as Second Lieutenant in Captain Smith's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. He probably served through the year. He was Captain of a company in Colonel Eleazer Brook's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment, which was called out at the time of fortifying Dorchester Heights, March 4, 1776. His commission was ordered September 27, 1776, as Lieutenant in Captain John Minot's Company, Colonel Nicholas Dike's Regiment for the defense of Boston. December 1, 1776, he was engaged to serve as Captain in Colonel Dike's Regiment, said service to continue until March 1, 1777. In a muster roll for February, 1777, he was "reported sick and absent". "Deacon" John Hartwell (also called Captain John in the records) died in Lincoln, November 2, 1820, aged 93 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JONATHAN HILL of Framingham was

the son of Jonathan and Lydia (Osgood) Hill of Billerica. He was born January 12, 1741-2. He was Sergeant in Captain Micajah Gleason's Company of Minute Men on the alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24th he was engaged to serve as Second Lieutenant in Captain David Moore's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and served through the year. In January, 1776, he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Littlefield's Company, Colonel Isaac Smith's Regiment, raised to serve until April 1, 1776. He was reported commissioned March 14, 1776. In September of that year, he was enlisting recruits for Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, as shown in a regimental return of that organization made at North Castle, November 6, 1776, his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain Adam Wheeler's Second Company. He was the first man to organize a Methodist class in Framingham. He died October 16, 1826.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOSEPH MIXER of Framingham was the son of Benjamin and Sarah (Garfield) Mixer. He was born March 7, 1742. As Joseph 'Mixter" he served as a private in Captain Simon Edgell's Company of Minute Men which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Thomas Drury's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year. Like his commander Captain Thomas Drury he is also credited as belonging to Colonel Thomas Gardner's Regiment. In a document found in the archives bearing date of July 16, 1775, the name of Lieutenant Joseph Mixer appears as a recruiting officer. He was a writing master. Owing to financial embarrassment he lost his farm and retired to Southborough in 1784. He died in Boston in 1822.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JACOB QUIMBY of Hampstead, N. H., was engaged April 25, 1775, to serve in that rank in Captain Moses McFarland's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN RIGGS of Georgetown (also given Falmouth) (Maine District) was a Corporal in Captain Samuel McCobb's Company of Minute Men which responded to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 9, 1775, he enlisted as Ensign in Captain McCobb's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and he served through the

year. January 1, 1776, he became First Lieutenant in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, Continental Army, and he served until June 5th of that year, when he was cashiered.

SECOND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM RYAN of Salem was engaged May 23, 1775, for service in that rank in Captain Micajah Gleason's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. According to Heitman he was cashiered August 24, 1775.

ENSIGN SILAS MANN was born abot 1745. May 19, 1775, he was commissioned Ensign in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment and served through the year. February 5, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Wheeler's Company, Colonel John Robinson's Regiment, for service to April 1, 1776. He died in Concord, November 14, 1788, aged 40 years (in the 43d year of his age. g. s.).

ENSIGN EDWARD RICHARDSON of Concord was the son of Edward and Abigail (Chenery) Richardson. We was born in Woburn, February 8, 1747-8. He later removed to Concord and was a resident of that town at the time of his marriage in 1771. In the "Richardson Memorial" it is stated that at the time of the Concord Bridge fight of April 19, 1775, he was Orderly-Sergeant of a Company of Minute Men of Concord, but no such record is found in the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War". April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Joseph Butler's Company, Colonel John Nixon's Regiment, and he served through the year. His son, Josiah stated that his father was Ensign, Lieutenant, Quartermaster, Paymaster and Captain, commanding a Company at West Point, and it is probable that the following records of service also belonged to him. Quartermaster, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Regiment from April 10th to November 1, 1776, also Captain in Colonel Thomas Poor's Regiment from May 20, 1778, to February 17, 7779, this service being up the Hudson and at West Point. He removed to the Androscoggin River country in Maine in February, 1783, to a place called Phips's Canada, the district in which he located being later called Jay, Lincoln County. He served as Trial Justice many years. He died July 1, 1834, in the 87th year of his age.

ENSIGN NATHAN WHEELER of Royalston, was engaged June 29,

1775, to serve in that rank in Captain Joseph Butler's Company in Colonel John Nixon's Regiment. During 1776, he was First Lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Winship's Company in Colonel Nixon's 4th Regiment, Continental Army. From January 1, 1777, to December 14, 1778, he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line.

MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS.
MICHIGAN SERIES.

By Charles A. Flagg

Stickney, Lemuel, b. 1761; Revolutionary soldier; set. N. Y. Macomb Hist., 853.

Stiles, Mercy, b. 1784, m. 1820? Stephen ball of N. Y. and Mich. Ionia Hist., 261, 262; Ionia Port., 390.

—— Samuel, Revolutionary soldier; set. N. Y., 1790? Jackson Port., 585.

Stimpson, John, set. N. Y., 1800? d. 1831. Jackson Hist., 1127.

Stimson, Benjamin G., b. Dedham, 1816; set. Mich., 1837. Wayne Chron., 387.

—— Ephraim ,set. N. Y., 1820? d. 1832. Kalamazoo Port., 329.

——Robert, set. N. Y., 1797. Genesee Hist., 260.

Stitt, Henry, b. Berkshire Co., 1833; set. O., Mich., 1862. Gratiot, 512.

—— John, b. Berkshire Co.; set. O., 1835, Mich., 1864. Gratiot, 442, 512.

Stocking, Billious, b. 1779; set. N. Y., 1800? Grand Rapids Lowell, 390; Kent, 1137.

Stockwell, Lovina, b. 1770; m. Oliver C. Derby of N. Y. Ingham Hist., facing 214.

—— Parley, b. 1803; set. Mich. Branch Twent., 253.

Stoell, Sarah, m. 1820? Nathaniel Kellogg of N. Y. Jackson Hist., 657.

Stoker, Minnie, m. 1883 Francis McMann of Mich. Saginaw Port., 228.

Stone, Alvah G., b. Charlton, 1852; set. Mich., 1877. Lenawee Illus., 406.

—— Clement W., b. Gloucester, 1840? set. Mich., Washtenaw Past, 181.

—— David, b. 1793; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Macomb Hist., 805.

——Elias, set. Mich., 1780? Macomb Hist., 804.

——Isaiah, b. 1785; set. Vt., N. Y.., 1800, N. Y., O., 1835. Lenawee Hist. II, 418; Lenawee Port., 239

—— Martha, m. 1st, 1800? Nicholas Cook of Mass; m. 2d ——— ——— of O. Hillsdale Port., 634.

—— Nabby, b. Framingham; m. 1820? Samuel Murdock of N. Y. Washtenaw Hist., 868.

—— Nathan, set. Vt., 1805? Jackson Hist., 891.

—— Solomon, set. N. Y., Mich., 1845? Macomb Past, 460.

—— Solon, b. 1801; set. N. Y., 1830? Mich. Clinton Port., 873.

——William B., b. Boston; set. Vt., 1850? Oakland Biog., 333.

—— William W., b. 1821; set. N. Y., Mich., 1855. Muskegon Port., 155.

Stow, ——— set. N. Y., Mich.; d. 1835. Clinton Port., 335.

Stowe, Elbridge G. b. Conway, 1821; set Mich., 1844. Kent, 1320.

Stowell, Jesse, b. Boston; set. N. Y., 1810? Jackson Port., 275.

—— Josiah, b. Petersham, 1797; set. Vt., 1800? Lenawee Port., 1072.

—— Luther, b. 1772; set. Vt. 1800? Lenawee Port., 1072.

set. N. Y., Mich., 1834. Jackson Hist., 151; Jackson Port., 275.
Ransom Nutting of Mass. and Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 786.

STREETER, Sereno W., b. 1811; set. O. Northern P., 354.

—— Thankful, b. Chester, 1795; m. Robert H. Baird of O. Kalamazoo Port., 702.

STRONG, Abigail L., of Northampton; b. 1821; m. 1845? Adin C. Evans of O. Northern M., 327.

—— Asahel of Northampton; set. O. Northern M., 328.

—— Asahel B., b. Westhampton, 1826; set. O., Mich., 1849. Hillsdale Port., 571.

—— Jared, b. Northampton, 1801; set. Mich., 1846. Kent, 715.

—— Olive, of Northampton; m. Abner Clark of O. Berrien Port., 582.

—— Phineas, b. Southampton; set. N. Y., 1830? Kent, 1140.

STUART, Charles, of Martha's Vineyard; set. N. Y., 1805. Kalamazoo Port., 205.

—— Ebenezer, set. N. Y., 1810? d. 1817. Macomb Hist., 805.

—— James, set. N. Y. Genesee Port., 622.

Grand Rapids Hist., 1086.

STYLES, Mercy, see STILES.

—— Pamelia, b. 1791; m. Peter Downs of Mich. Allegan Hist., 463.

SUMNER, Lucina, m. 1780? William Carpenter of N. H. and N. Y. Lenawee Illus., 121.

—— Ruth, b. 1791; m. 1822 John Towar of N. Y. and Mich. Lansing, 434.

1837. Macomb Hist., 713.

SWAIN, Joseph G., b. New Bedford; Twent., 441.

—— Richard, b. Nantasket? 1773; set. N. Y., 1796. Detroit, 1232.

STUDLEY, Elbridge G., set. N. Y., 1840?

SUTTON, Amsey, set. N. Y., 1830, Mich., set. N. Y., 1830? Mich., 1846. Branch

STOWELL, Silas W., b. Littleton, 1802;

SWAN, *Mrs.* Betsey, wife of Abel Swan, later wife of John Bean; b. Heath, March, 1793. Sanilac, 249.

SWEETSER, Luke, of Hampshire Co., bought land in Mich., 1836. Allegan Hist., 270.

SYKES, Alanson, set. N. Y., Mich., 1837. Kalamazoo Port., 895.

SYMES, J. T., b. Berkshire Co., 1821; set. O., Mich., 1855. Saginaw Hist., 913.

TABER, Benjamin, b. 1775; set. N. Y., Mich. Hillsdale Port., 245.

—— Earl, Revolutionary soldier; set. N. Y., 1799. Oakland Port., 577.

TAFT, Cynthia, b. Chesterfield, 1790; m. Silas Wilcox of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 190.

—— Levi B., b. Billingham, 1821, set. Mich., 1834. Oakland Hist., 47; Oakland Port., 225.

—— Lydia, m. 1790? Royal Wheelock of N. Y. Washtenaw Port., 609.

—— Mary Ann, b. Worcester Co., 1829; m. Danford Parker of Mich. Ingham Port., 754.

—— Moses, b. Mendon, 1792; set. Mich., 1834. St. Joseph, 220.

TAGGART, —— b. Roxbury? set. N. H. Branch Port., 316.

—— John, Jr., b. Roxbury, 1750; set. N. H. Branch Hist., 330.

TALBOT, Samuel, set. N. Y., 1800? Kalamazoo Port., 765.

TALMADGE, Joseph I., b. Williamstown, 1807; set. Mich., 1834. Lenawee Hist. I, 251.

TAPLIN, Elliott, set. Vt. Saginaw Port., 234.

TARBELL, Betsey, m. 1820? Asquar Aldrich of Mich. Gratiot, 389.

TASKER, Reuben C., b. New Bedford, 1836; set. Mich., 1881. Saginaw Port., 942.

TATEUM, William A., graduate of Wesleyan University; set. Mich., 1887. Grand Rapids City, 432.

TAYLOR, Alanson, set. O., 1835? Newaggo, 224.

TAYLOR, Almira M., b. 1829; m. 1857 B. F. Chamberlain of Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 697.

—— Betsey, m. 1800? Amos Gray of Vt. Washtenaw Hist., 853.

—— Chloc, b. Springfield, 1781; m. 1803 Seth Otis of N. Y. Washtenaw Hist., 1029.

—— David, b. Ashfield; set. O.; d. 1840? Genesee Hist., 391.

—— Elbridge G., b. 1826; set. Mich. 1844. Washtenaw Port., 201.

—— James, Sr., b. Buckland, 1791; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Ionia Hist., 402.

—— John, b. Westfield, 1762; set. N. Y., 1802, Mich., 1832. Macomb Hist., 763.

—— John, b. Deerfield, 1792; set. N. Y., 1810? Mich., 1832. Macomb Hist., 763.

—— Joseph, b. Harvard? 1790?; set. Vt. 1810? Kent, 792; Newaygo, 363.

—— Mary A., of Westfield; m. 1828 Nathan Dickinson of Mass. and Mich. Macomb Past, 337.

—— Obed, b. 1799; set. Mich., 1832. Washtenaw Hist., 697.

—— Sylvester, b. Berkshire Co., 1814; set. N. Y., 1816, O., 1829, Mich., 1854. Ionia Hist., 171.

TEMPLETON, Sarah, m. Isaac Butterfield of N. Y. and Mich. Kent, 963.

TENNEY, Weston, set. N. Y., 1820? Newaygo, 302.

TERRY, Polly, m. 1820? Joseph Chaddock of N. Y. Muskegon Port., 368.

THACHER, Isaac E., b. N. Wrentham, 1833; set. Mich., 1855. Ionia Port., 642.

—— Israel, b. 1810; set. N. Y., Mich. Hillsdale Port., 654.

—— Martha M., b. N. Wrentham, 1829; m. 1854 Nelson E. Smith of Mass., Penn. and Ill. Ionia Port., 790.

—— Moses, b. Princeton, 1795; set. Penn., 1803; N. Y., Ill., Mich. Ionia Port., 643, 790.

1851. Ionia Port., 644.

—— Tyler, b. Princeton, 1801; set. Cal.,

THAYER, Betsey, b. Taunton, 1778; m. 1818 William Freeman of Mass. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. I, 245; Lenawee Port., 668.

—— Dolly, m. 1825? Willard Richards of N. Y. and Mich. Genesee Port., 927.

—— Hosea, b. Plainfield or Springfield, 1784; set. N. Y., 1800? Lenawee Hist., I, 357; Lenawee Port., 579.

—— John, b. Randolph, 1787; set. Me., 1820? Ionia Hist., 165.

—— Nathan, b. Milford, 1765? set. N. Y., Mich., 1824. Washtenaw Hist., 1049.

—— Nathaniel, set. Vt., 1820? Grand Rapids Lowell, 380.

THOMAS, David, of Rowe; set. Mich., 1841. Hillsdale Hist., 257; Hillsdale Port., 221.

—— Sophia, b. 1781; m. 1808? Frederick Wright of Mass., N. Y. and Mich. Jackson Hist., 1020; Jackson Port., 593.

—— Victor H., b. Berkshire Co., 1837; set. N. Y., 1842, Mich., 1857. Berrien Twent., 767.

—— Zimri D., b. Rowe, 1809; set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1852 or 53. Hillsdale Port., 683; Kalamazoo Port., 219.

THOMPSON, Caleb S., b. Northboro, 1805; set. N. Y., Mich., 1829. Genesee Hist., 249.

—— Cyrus, set. N. Y., 1800? Jackson Hist., 817; Jackson Port., 335.

—— Horace, b. Uxbridge, 1809; set. Mich., 1831. Cass Hist., 144, 307.

—— Lewis S., b. Peru, 1827; set. N. Y., Mich. Genesee Port., 740.

—— Lovina, b. Worcester Co., 1782; m. 1799 John Barber of N. Y. Lenawee Hist. II, 191.

—— Lyman, set. N. Y., Mich., 1840? Genesee Port., 740.

—— Margaret, b. Monson; m. 1853, James C. Bennett of Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 794.

—— Oren C., b. Stockbridge, 1806; set. Mich., 1831. Wayne Chron., 159.

—— Sally, b. Berkshire Co.; m. Elisha Branch of O. Ingham Hist., 347.

THORN, *Mrs.* Sampson, b. Falmouth, Aug. 6, 1813; set. Mich., 1838. Jackson Hist., 152.

THORNTON, Isaac, set. O., 1835? Midland, 299.

THORP, Susannah, b. Springfield; m. 1810? Timothy Wood of Mass. and N. Y. Saginaw Hist., 940.

THORPE, Hannah, m. 1820? Justus Alvord of N. Y. and O. Isabella, 382.

TIBBITTS, John, b. Adams, 1783; set. N. Y., Mich. Branch Port., 630.

TICKNOR, Deborah, m. Alfred Bingham of Vt. Saginaw Port., 468.

TIFFANY, Gideon of Norton; set. N. H. 1780? Lenawee Hist. I, 523.

—— Oliver, set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1836. Jackson Port., 310.

—— Polly, m. 1810? Mason Whipple of N. Y. and Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 819; Washtenaw Port., 250.

—— Sylvester, b. Norton; set. Canada, 1792, N. Y. Lenawee Hist. I, 523.

TILLOTSON, Leonard, set. O., 1815. Clinton Port., 558.

TILTON, Caleb, of Conway; set. Mich., 1832. Calhoun, 162.

—— John, of Berkshire Co.; set. Mich.; d. 1849. Calhoun, 162.

—— Joseph, b. Sudbury, 1779; set. N. H., 1800? Mich. 1833. Lenawee Hist. I, 72.

—— Lucy J., m. 1855 Martin N. Hine of Mich. Kent, 1219.

TIMOTHY, Clarissa A., m. 1840? David P. Allen, of N. Y. and Mich. Saginaw Port., 684.

—— Elkana, set. N. Y., 1820? Saginaw Port., 684.

TINNEY, Olive, b. 1793; m. Benjamin Tobey of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 68.

—— Sally, b. Lee, 1790; m. 1815, Ezra Howes of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 151.

TOBEY, Benjamin, b. Conway, 1779; set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1844. Lenawee Hist. I, 147; Lenawee Port., 681.

TOMS, Ira, set. N. Y., Canada., Mich., 1824. Oakland Hist., 288.

TOOMBS, Louisa, b. 1811; m. 1843 Josiah Childs of Mich. Washtenaw Port., 545.

TORREY, Ann, m. 1825? Ezra Newton of N. Y. and Mich. Ionia Port., 732.

—— George, b. Salem, 1801; set. Mich., 1833. Kalamazoo Hist., 284, 489.

—— Miles, set. N. Y., Mich., 1845. Lansing, 542.

—— Norman, b. Williamstown, 1807; set. Mich., 1830. Lenawee Port., 575.

TORRY, Ruth, b. Williamstown, 1770; m. Stephen Frazier of Mass. and N. Y. Lenawee Port., 948.

TOWER, Clarissa, m. 1800? Elkana Timothy of N. Y. Saginaw Port., 684.

—— Deborah, m. 1807, Ansel Ford of Mass. and O. Lenawee Port., 1137.

—— Osmond, b. Cummington, 1811; set. Mich., 1834 or 1835. Clinton Port., 768; Ionia Hist., 160; Kent, 263.

TOWN, Betsey, m. 1812? Festus Persons of N. Y. Newaygo, 382.

—— Nathan, b. Berkshire Co., 1792; set. N. Y., Canada, 1820? Mich., 1838. Lenawee Hist. I, 269; Lenawee Illus., 446; Lenawee Port., 874.

—— Stephen, set. N. Y., Mich., 1845. Jackson Hist., 739.

TOWNSEND, Abiel, set. Mich., 1836. Ionia Port., 268.

—— Isaac, b. New Salem, 1750? set N. Y., 1800 Branch Port., 491.

—— James, b. Berkshire Co., 1842; set. Mich., 1845. Jackson Hist., 907.

—— Josiah, set. N. Y., 1850? Gratiot, 180.

—— Martin, 1812 soldier; set. N. Y. Branch Port., 491.

—— Tartullus, of Berkshire Co.; set. Mich., 1845. Jackson Hist., 907.

—— Thomas, Revolutionary soldier; set. N. H., d. 1814. Genesee Port., 954.

TOWNSON, Calvin, b. 1776; set. N. Y. Jackson Port., 352.

TRACY, Addison, b. Pittsfield, 1796; set. O., 1840? Mich., 1864. Grand Rapids City, 292; Kent. 790

—— Hannah, of Lenox; m. 1785? Isaac Grant of Vt. and N. Y. Osceola, 191.

Tracy, James, set. N. Y., 1810. Jackson Hist., 873.

——Sarah, m. 1810? Ira L. Watkins of Mich. Jackson Hist., 873.

—— Thomas, b. Berkshire Co., 1790; set. N. Y., Ill., 1832, Mich., 1853. Kalamazoo Port., 530.

Train, Samuel, b. 1833; set. O. Newaygo, 246.

——Sylvester, set. Vt., 1830? Mich., 1840. Grand Rapids City, 236; Kent, 1229.

Trask, Annie, b. Leicester, 1790; m. John Wood of N. Y. and Mich. Ingham Port., 415.

—— Luther H., b. Millbury, 1807; set. Mich., 1835. Kalamazoo Port., 239.

——Salmon, set. Mich., 1835. Bean Creek. 49.

Tremain, Justus, b. Berkshire Co., 1798; set. N. Y., Mich., 1833. Monroe, 505.

Trowbridge, Luther, b. Framingham; Revolutionary soldier; set. N. Y., 1785? Detroit, 1034; Wayne Chron., 178.

Trumbull, Orrin S., b. 1821; set. Mich., 1845. Kent, 774.

Tryon, Rodolphus, b. Deerfield, 1809; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Ingham Hist., facing 214.

—— Sebina, set. N. Y., 1810? Clinton Port., 700.

—— Zebina, b. 1785; set. N. Y. Ingham Hist., facing 214.

Tubbs, Seth, set. N. Y., 1800; d. 1859. Shiawassee, 247.

Tucker, Luther L., b. Windsor; set. Mich., 1836. Hillsdale Hist., 129.

—— Mary, b. Charlton, 1770? m. Abel Foster of Mass. and R. I. Lenawee Hist. I, 92.

Tuckerman, Benjamin, set. N. Y., 1795? Allegan Hist., 390.

Tuffs, Rebecca, b. Malden, 1797; m. James H. Young of Mass. and Mich. Washtenaw Port., 469.

Tufts, Aaron, b. 1794; set. N. Y. Lenawee Port., 565.

Tufts, Aaron, b. 1803; set. N. Y., 1821. Lenawee Hist. I, 417; Lenawee Illus., 274.

Tuller, Artemidorus, b. Egremont, 1783; set. N. Y., O., Mich. Hillsdale Port., 451.

Turner, Anna, m. 1825? Joseph S. Blaisdell of Vt. and Mich. Kent, 1212.

—— Carmi, set. O., 1800? Lenawee Port., 370.

——Delonza, b. 1798; set. N. Y. Mich., 1836. Hillsdale Port., 539.

—— Ezra, 1812 soldier; set. N. Y., 1815? Muskegon Port., 452.

—— Mary, b. 1810? m. Cornelius D. Seager of O. Lenawee Port., 370.

——Mary R., b. Pittsfield, 1818; m. 1848 Moses A. McNaughton of Mich. Jackson Port., 509.

—— Nathaniel, b. 1780; set. N. Y., Mich., 1835. Branch Hist., 323.

—— Stiles, set. N. Y., Mich., 1831. Ingham Port., 522.

Turrell, Deborah, b. Pelham, 1804; m. Horace Turner of Mich. Hillsdale Port., 611.

——Noah, b. Bridgewater; set. N. Y., 1812. Hillsdale Port., 612.

Tuten, R. P., b. E. Cambridge, 1845; set. N. H., Mich., 1875. Northern P., 91.

Tuttle, Annie, b. Franklin Co.; d. 1834; m. Zedock Hale of Vt. Kalamazoo Port., 447.

—— Nelson, b. 1800; set. O., 1830? Ionia Port., 414.

Twitchell, Chloe O., b. Mendon, 1808; m. E. A. Roby of Wis. and Mich. Kent, 1343.

Tyler, Frank C., b. Stoneham, 1855; set. Mich., 1857. Muskegon Hist., 95.

—— Sarah H., of Greenfield; m. 1837 Preston Mitchell of Mich. Calhoun, 78.

—— Susan, m. 1800? Asabel Cogswell of N. Y. Saginaw Hist., 755.

Underwood, Daniel K., b. Enfield, 1803; set. Mich., 1836. Lenawee Hist. II, 360; Lenawee Illus., 137.

REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

By Judge Francis M. Thompson of Greenfield, Massachusetts

Including His Narrative of Three Years in the New West, During Which He Took in 1862 a 3000-mile Trip From St. Louis up the Missouri, and Thence Down the Snake and Columbia Rivers to Portland, and to San Francisco, Returning in 1863.

(Continued from Vol. VII, No. 2)

In revenge, the Indian relatives stole Clarke's field glass and enough horses to get away with and fled toward the north. Not long after, Clarke and his son Nathan, rode into the Blackfoot village, and almost immediately Nathan discovered his mother's cousin, Ne-tus-che-o, riding his (Nathan's) favorite horse. Nathan took his horse from his relative and gave him a cut across his face, calling him a "dog." Nathan was at once surrounded by twenty young bucks, when the old men came upon the scene. They prevented bloodshed, but Malcolm Clarke had called his wife's cousin "an old woman."

The difficulty was at length adjusted, and Mr. Clarke traded in Calf Shirt's camp the next two winters, when Ne-tus-che-o might have taken his revenge.

In 1869 the feeling between the Indians and the whites had become so intense that Mountain Chief's brother and a young Blood Indian, sent on a mission to Major Culbertson, were killed by white men, who thought them enemies. Ne-tus-che-o saw that this was his chance to wipe out the stain he had received from Nathan and his father. He made up a party, and went to Clarke's ranch, where he was kindly entertained, but treacherously killed Mr. Clarke and his son Horace, Nathan being at this time absent from home.

Note No. 9. See reference on page 35, vol. VI.

"BIG GWYNN" was killed by the Sioux while descending the Missouri in a mackanaw boat in the fall of 1863.

Note No. 10. See reference on page 40, vol. VI.

What was in the early days known as "The Beaver Head Country" was located near the junction of Red Rock and Beaver Head creeks, and

made prominent by Beaver Head rock, frequently called "Point of Rocks," which was a noted locality in Vigilante days as being a resort of the "Road Agents."

Note No. 11. See reference on page 75, vol. VI.

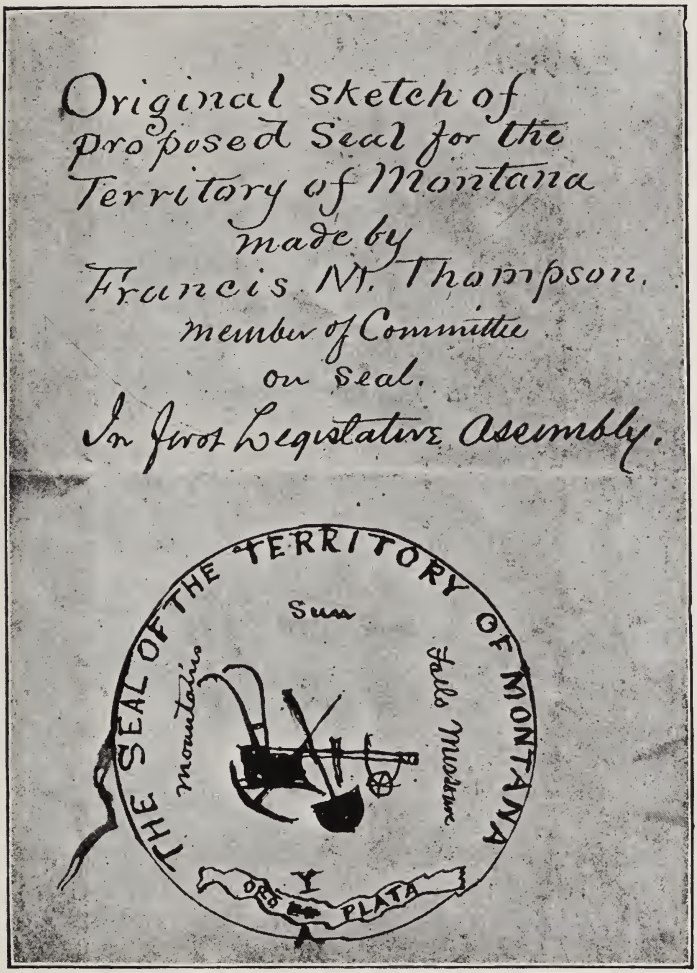
JOHN OWEN was sutler to a regiment of United States troops called the Mounted Rifles, which left St. Joseph, Mo., for Oregon in 1849. The detachment was snowed in near Snake river, and built Cantonment Loring, where they wintered. In the spring Owen threw up his commission and spent the summer trading with emigrants on the old overland route. In the fall he made his way north to the Bitter Root valley where he found the priests at St. Mary's mission, which Father De Smet and others had founded in 1841.

The fathers had suffered so much from incursions of the thieving Snake Indians, that they sold their possessions to Major Owen and moved their station north among the Flatheads. Mr. Owen made great improvements, by erecting several adobe buildings for ranch purposes, and surrounding them by a palisade.

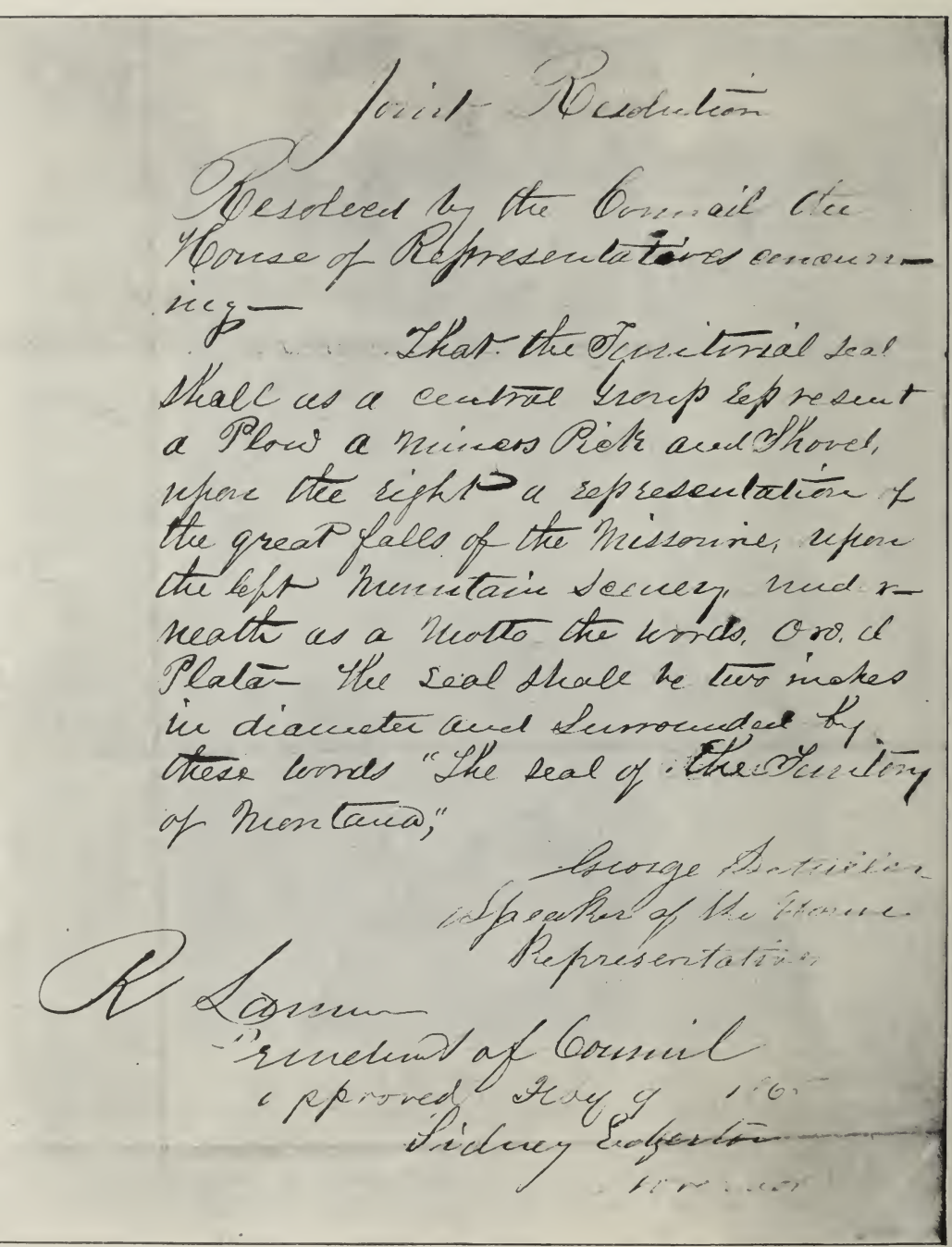
He entered into Indian trade, making yearly pilgrimages to Oregon to sell his furs and purchase supplies. Even his strong palisade did not always stop the rascally Snakes, for once they dug up some of the pickets and drove off every horse on the premises.

The life led by the occupants of these isolated posts may be inferred from the following incident. One John F. Dobson, from Buffalo Grove, Ill., worked for Owen and kept a diary from the time he left home until he made this last entry. "Sept. 14, 1852. I have been fixing ox yokes and hay rigging. Helped haul one load of hay. Weather fine.

The next entry was in Owen's writing and reads, "Sept. 15. The poor fellow was killed and scalped by the Blackfeet in sight of the fort." The Major obtained his military title by being government agent for the Flathead Indians. He was a most companionable man, exercising a prodigal generosity, and Fort Owen became noted among mountain men for the geniality of its host. Within his fenced farm he proved the abundant agricultural resources of the country. In carrying on the original surveys for a Pacific railroad, Governor Stevens caused Lt. Mullan to winter in



Photographic reproduction of the original sketch for the seal of Montana, as made by the Massachusetts Pioneer, Judge Thompson, now of Greenfield, Mass.



Joint Resolution

Resolved by the Council & House of Representatives convening—

That the Territorial Seal shall as a central Group represent a Plow a Miners Pick and Shovel, upon the right a representation of the great falls of the Missouri, upon the left Mountain scenery, and beneath as a Motto the words, Oro & Plata— The Seal shall be two inches in diameter and surrounded by these words "The Seal of the Territory of Montana,"

George Bartlett
Speaker of the House
Representatives

R Lowe
President of Council
Approved May 9 1865
Sidney Edgerton
Governor

Reproduction of the original draft of the resolution authorizing the seal for the Territory of Montana.

this valley, and he erected buildings near Fort Owen which he named Cantonment Stevens, which were his headquarters during the winter of 1853-54. With Lt. Mullan there came to this region, W. W. Delacy, C. P. Higgins, Thomas Adams, Fred H. Burr and others. I acknowledge many favors received from Major Owen.

Note No. 12. See reference on page 124 (fifth line) vol. VI, No. 3.

SIDNEY EDGERTON, the first governor of Montana Territory, was born in Cazenovia, New York in 1818. His parents came from Connecticut, his mother being left a widow with six young children before Sidney was six months of age. Circumstances compelled his removal from the family home at the tender age of eight years. He made his own way in the world and with some assistance gained sufficient education to become a school teacher, studied law and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1846. He began practice in Akron, Ohio, was married to a most excellent helpmate in 1849, and became prosecuting attorney for his county in 1852. He was elected to Congress from the 18th Ohio District in 1858, which position he retained until 1862. Mr. Lincoln appointed him chief justice of the newly formed Territory of Idaho in 1863, and in company with his nephew, Wilbur F. Sanders, they with their families crossed the plains in the summer and fall of that year.

When the party reached Snake river, they found that there was no time to reach the capitol of Idaho, and turned their faces toward that Bannack on the east side of the Rocky mountains. The tired and dusty travellers unyoked their oxen for the last time, after three months and seventeen days travel, on the banks of the Grasshopper, Sept. 17th, 1863.

Judge Edgerton's winter journey to Washington, his successful labors in getting the new territory of Montana erected, and his return as its governor, were all very satisfactory to the people, and he took up the duties of his new position with zeal and good judgment.

Many men who had served in the Confederate army had taken refuge in Montana when Price's army was defeated in southwestern Missouri. Of these many who were well qualified in other respects were excluded from serving in official capacities, because of the iron clad oath which had been prescribed in the territories by the government. This made

the organization of the new government in the territory peculiarly embarrassing to the chief magistrate.

The services of these men were needed and desirable, but Governor Edgerton was firm in the performance of the duty imposed upon him, and it became necessary to exclude a gentleman otherwise eminently qualified, who had been elected to the legislature, for the reason that he had served as an officer in the Confederate army. This naturally caused much excitement, although the parties immediately concerned admitted the justice of the Governor's position.

Having travelled in all inhabited portions of the new territory, I was enabled to give the governor considerable assistance in apportioning to the different sections their proper numbers of representatives and councillors, which should be chosen to make up the first legislature. Consequently my relations with the governor and his family became very intimate, and were most agreeable to me. He and his excellent wife were of the good old fashioned kind, who avoided all unnecessary formalities, and were most kind and cordial in all their ways.

Upon Andrew Johnson's accession to the presidency, Mr. Edgerton felt that his usefulness to Montana was over, and he began preparations to return with his family to his old home in Ohio. As soon as he conveniently could after the arrival of Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher, who had been appointed secretary of Montana, he took his family to Akron, and renewed his law practice, leaving Gen. Meagher as acting governor of the territory.

Mr. Edgerton was almost as fond of a joke as was his friend Lincoln. He could extract crumbs of comfort from the most adverse circumstances. He was full of the spirit of charity, and it was not an easy thing to persuade him that a well appearing person was not always worthy of trust. Himself the very soul of honor, he believed everybody else honest until convinced to the contrary. He loved fun and games, and his home was a most happy one.

Writing from Virginia City to a niece who was a member of his family, he says: "I am well and happy and having a good time. Everything is lovely and "the goose hangs high." Hoping that you are enjoying the same blessing, I am your loving uncle." He died July 1, 1900, aged eighty-eight.

Note No. 13. See reference on page 124 (sixth line) vol. VI, No. 3.

WILBUR F. SANDERS. Mr. Sanders was a young man when he arrived at Bannack after his long journey by ox team across the plains, on the 17th of September, 1863. He had seen service in the civil war, and withdrew from ill health. He was a member of the Ohio bar, and practiced his profession during all his business life, excepting when a member of the United State Senate.

He was a man of intense action, aggressive, forceful, brilliant, brave and talented, good natured and always willing to aid in a "square deal," and an opponent must possess many of these qualities or he would be borne to the wall in a clash of arms.

Mr. Sanders was the acknowledged leader in the great struggle of the people against the oath bound band of robbers, who at one time in the history of the territory had the community at their mercy, and in constant peril of his life he led the way to the establishment of law and order.

He was the organizer of the Republican party in Montana, and in his spirited canvass with James M. Cavenaugh for election as the first delegate from Montana territory to Congress, he established his reputation as a speaker of high order. He however had a forlorn hope, but he earned the name of "The War Horse of the Republican party," which he retained all his remaining days.

Ever ready to sacrifice himself in any cause which to him appeared for the advantage of the public, he was always active in helping forward all enterprises which were calculated to advance the interests of the people of Montana, his beloved home.

He was a charter member of the Historical Society of Montana, and for many years its president, and always deeply interested in making the society active and progressive in its noble work. As an orator he was second to none, and was often called upon to deliver addresses upon public occasions. He spoke with eloquence of "The Pioneers of Montana," upon the dedication of the Capitol, in 1902.

The real character of the man may perhaps be better shown by a letter addressed to me.

EDITORS' NOTE: Through the trials and exigencies of getting behind in our printing, it will be found that these Addenda notes, where continued on

pages 15 to 22, in Vol. VIII, were unintentionally printed without numbers and references to the text:

Note 13, on page 15, refers to page 124, vol. VI, W F Sanders (6th line).
Note 14, on page 16, refers to page 166, vol. VI, N. P. Langford (1st line)
Note 15, on page 17, refers to page 169, vol. VI, S. T. Hauser.
Note 16, on page 17, refers to page 19, vol. VII, Jos. La Barge.
Note 17, on page 18, refers to page 40, vol. VI, J. F. Grant (7th line.).
Note 18, on page 19, refers to page 145, vol. V, Buffalo (16th line).
Note 19, on page 21, refers to page 22, vol. VII, Prices of Provisions.
Note 20, on page 21, refers to page 123, vol. VI, Milk River.
Note 21, on page 21, refers to page 24, vol. VII, First Newspaper
Note 22, on page 22, refers to page
Note, 23, on page 22, refers to page 181, vol. VI, First School.

A NEGRO SLAVE
IN DANVERS, MASS.

By Anne L. Page.

The following interesting account of a negro slave, bought and owned by Jeremiah Page of Danvers, and who died only a score of years prior to the Civil War, was written by Miss Anne L. Page, granddaughter of Jeremiah Page:

"Danvers, Mass., April 19, 1766.

"Received of Mr. Jeremiah Page, Fifty-eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence, lawful money, and a negro woman called Dinah, which is in full for a negro woman called Combo and a negro girl called Cate and a negro child called Deliverance or Dill, which I now sell and deliver to said Jeremiah Page.

"John Tapley."

"John A. Bancroft
"Ezek. C. Malsh"

Deliverance, or 'Dill,' as she was always called, was the youngest of the three named on the bill of sale, and was then only a child. The valuable part of the purchase, in the buyer's estimation, must have been the two older ones—Dill's mother and sister. These two died in a year or two. Dill lived to good old age and, with other members of the family, I attended her funeral in Saint Peter's Church in Salem, of which she was a member.

I think her death occurred some time in the forties. She made up for the loss of the other two, Combo and Cate. She was a faithful nurse to the children and became a cook of renown. I remember when she came to the homestead to spend a day each year. We children liked to stay in the kitchen with Dill who told us stories and made gingerbread for us that was always of the best. In return for her faithful service she was always treated kindly in my grandfather's family. My Aunt Carroll once told me that the children did not dare to tease Dill for fear of their father's displeasure, and as she stood by his coffin in 1806, she was heard to say: "He was a good man."

It was not an uncommon thing until after the Revolution to hold

slaves. African trade was carried on by people in Salem and vicinity and then vessels often returned with a few slaves as a part of their cargo. These slaves found a ready sale, for the New England conscience still slumbered and slept, so far as slavery was concerned. It is a well authenticated fact that slaves of both sexes were commonly held as family slaves, even by many of the clergy, who sometimes acquired them by purchase, and sometimes received them as presents from their parishioners.

Miss Lucy Larcom gives Dill a place in the poem of the "Gambrel Roof," but this was by poetic license.

Dill loved to tell us stories of the "goings on" in the old times, and would never have omitted the story of the roof-party if she had known it. Besides, the tea-drinking was, and had to be a profound secret between the three tea-drinkers, who went slyly up the scuttle stairs and sat on the roof and drank their tea that afternoon. Mrs. Page, the hostess, died within the year. Mrs. John Shillaber, by whom the account of the event was transmitted, moved to Salem soon after it happened. It was only in her old age, when all who would have been disturbed by it had been gone many years, that she told her story to her daughters. It was from the lips of one of the daughters that I heard the story as she told it to my father and mother, neither of whom had been born at the time. Col. Page would have felt disgraced and perhaps would have been mobbed —so strong was the feeling against tea-using.

In her last years, Dill lived in a small, unpainted house in North Salem, now North Street, with a willow tree at the door, on which, in Summer, a parrot in a green cage hung, and called to the horses, in imitation of drivers of teams as they passed the house.

Dill wrote verses. Anstiss, her daughter, told me that when "Ma'am wanted to rhyme up' she would take a basket and go into the woods and bring home some poetry. I could see where the woods might be an inspiration, but the basket seemed irrelevant. One of the verses in a poem of some length ran thus:

> "The minister he stands in the pulpit so high
> And tells us from the Bible that we all must die!"

The refrain between each verse ran:

> "They stole us from Africa, the home of the free,
> And brought us in bondage across the blue sea."

Peace to her memory! Stolen from Africa, but not exactly the "home of the free." From a little, ignorant, friendless black child, she came to be an unusually intelligent, amiable, Christian woman.

LETTERS OF A SOLDIER

IN THE CIVIL WAR.

LIEUTENANT JOHN W. SUMMERHAYES.

The following letters, hastily penned "under fire" at the front, in the Civil War, show the inward thoughts and feelings of a brave soldier, as few letters do. "Coz. John" became captain of his company in the fall of 1863. After the war he spent years of strenuously active service in the regular army in the western states, and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel by an Act of Congress in 1900. We have typed the letters just as they were hastily scrawled on scraps of paper, and have not deleted the familiar references to the folks at home, preferring to let them stand in all their homely vividness. They were written to his cousin, a school girl at Nantucket, and have been preserved amongst other old letters, with no expectation that they would ever see the light of print.

Jan. 3d, 1862. Camp Near Falmouth.

Dear Cousin:

You know in olden times at Salem, and several other places of note of which probably you have heard *People* were *Possessed* (They caught Jessie for it too) and I hope you will continue to be *possessed* if by which, I shall be *favored* with a like favor. The Jessie part I guarantee to leave out and substitute a Beau (*perhaps*). But Joking aside Dear Coz. you letter did *r-a-t-h-e-r* astonish me. Of my existence I thought you were not aware. Supposed may be you might have thought me *rubbed* out in some skirmish or "D. D." (died of disease) there are many such poor fellows—"Peace to their ashes." Home, kindred and friends are forgotten by them for what?

Your description of poor Alley's* reception pleased me greatly, as he was my pattern of a true soldier—Many battles we have fought side by side where death was staring him in the face, yet he always seemed

*This was 2nd Lieut. L. F. Alley of Nantucket, with the inherent modesty which was a part of his nature, he makes no mention of it here, but Lieut. Summerhayes rescued Alley's body from the battlefield under fire.

shielded from harm—many's the joke he has cracked with me on the field of Battle—as unconcerned as thought safe in Camp—But his time had come—and I have lost as true a friend as ever trod the earth. Nantucket can *not* show too much respect for him for she knows not his true worth. But for what she has done I am truly thankful—at the same time I think it her duty. I knew there would be but little alteration as he was well embalmed and would keep a year a least—his face *was* dark on one side, owing to the arteries being severed and the blood coagulating. I instructed Private Murphy to have that eye covered with a white Patch which would have concealed the disfigurement, Capt. Abbott's* letter is but a type of himself, Noble, Generous, and as Sensitive as a woman—a braver man I do not want to see. He was *wrapped up* in Alley—thought none like him—I shall never forget when he asked for Volunteers to go after him. When he, Alley, was struck down I was out on the right, with Six sharp shooters in front of a Battery and Rifle Pit, picking off Gunners and keeping their (the enemy's) skirmishers from firing on our right wing, the heaviest part of the battle was over, and the night shadows were falling, shells exploding lit up the hill like flashes of lightning—Sergt. Holmes came creeping up to my post—"Summerhayes' Alley's killed, I am to relieve you as the Capt. wishes your Services." This was his greeting, you can imagine my feelings—I have seen a good many men die—Some Comrades and it has not caused a nerve to tremble—but those words made a demon of me in an instant I was on my feet. I pity the Greyback, whether well, sick or wounded who should have fallen into my hands then, 'twould have been short work. Those words awake me some nights from a sound slumber—But enough of this, I do not like to think of it—His poor Mother, God help her, yet there are many others who must receive our pure sympathy—many who will suffer in every sense of the word—Well, a soldier has little time to think, he is a machine and each day must pursue the same old routine until in the monotony he loses his identity.

Was glad to hear that Murphy was used so well—he is a good boy and I think did his duty—receiving his wound in the first part of the street fight he had little chance to see much of the details, yet he can enlighten you in a measure as to the wounded and dead of Nantucket. In reference to that woman (whom happily I do not know) her conscience will punish her on earth, and the Devil will soon claim her as his own—Little interest have I with the sanitary Commissions, knowing from experience their uselessness to the soldier in the field and the fraudulent manner in which your donations given with so free hands and such good motives

*Major Henry L. Abbott of Boston who was killed in battle.

are dispensed. Many of us who as you are aware perhaps have but one blanket allowed us would like those nice warm things to cover, and keep from the cold night air, our rheumatic persons, but I appreciate, you may be assured, the feelings which prompt you to work for our comfort—But under the present administration of things I think it money thrown away—

While I write you, my Kitty sits purring quietly in my lap enjoying life hugely, once in a whole I notice her gazing at me earnestly as though she were trying to read my thoughts. I am going to take her with me into the next fight to see how she will act—What shall I name her I leave the choice open for the present—Many times have I been on the point of writing to Aunt Charlotte a letter of thanks, for her kindness in remembering me—when my box was made up—I threaten to do it yet—my facilities for writing are better now than before, as being S. M. I have better chance to find a warm corner to indite in, and having a clerk only in my tent, noise does not trouble me. Should like this Saturday night to have stopped at Grandmothers, as of yore—By! . . . Give her my love as well as grandfather—not forgetting your mother and father. Kiss Hattie and pull the Cats. . . . Tomorrow I shall be in a pleasanter mood, and will answer Clara's note—be taken that way often—How is your patriotic Arthur—or Charles (which is it). Make your letters as long as the last for 'twas a treat to read it, interesting and well indited.

Yours,
COZ JOHN.

20ths Camp. Jan. 23.

* * * * * * * * *

Your ideas in reference to predestination coincide with mine to a charm—If 'twas not so I should dread to face the enemy again, but I imagine always that if I am to die by lead, steel, shell or sickness 'tis not in my power to evade it. Once only did I ever while under fire think there was any danger of losing my life by chance and that was when steering the old Pontoon boat across the Rappahanock, the boys lying in the bottom except three Rowers. While my body was wholly exposed the sharp shooters bullets knocked the splinters off of the boat and oar, yet nary one touched me. Alley was standing on the Gunwale of his boat cheering his men on. *What an example!* Could I, no matter how much of a Coward I might be, *flinch then?* Thousands of men were cheering us on from the bank we had left—'twas Glorious—'twas grand—bullets, shells and death were forgotten. Hurrah for victory and death to the Rebs—Grey backs were at a discount. The boats struck the shore together—over our wounded and dead comrades we leaped, up the banks with a

steel front we charged taking their fire as you would snowballs. Cutting off fifteen or twenty—bayoneting any who resisted. On we went clearing the Grey backs from the first two row of houses in no time, holding them until the rest of the Regiment could cross. That's all well enough, but the result is the worst feature—you call the roll and find many loved comrades are missing. Where are they—God knows. . .

Sorry to say I have not as yet rec'd my box although how soon I shall is a doubt—they are coming every day into Camp. There's a Confounded Old Methodist raising the devil on the hill behind my tent—he's been "going to die no more" for half an hour or more and has seemed to be greatly pleased that "Salvation's free" &c.—I believe I shall go raving distracted soon, for now he has struck up a medley of Old Hundred. Joyfully, and some other—I wish he'd quit—Have concluded to call my Kit "Bob Tale", thinking I have the right to, as I Bobbed her—my love to father and mother. Kiss Clara—no I mean Hattie—for me. Write.

Your Coz,

JACK.

May 19th.

Dear Coz:

I am alive as yet—we started in the 3rd of May with over 500 men and 21 officers—now we have five officers present and one of them wounded—250 men, five men were killed or mortally wounded none got slight wounds. These new men will not fight without the officers expose themselves more than *they* do. Tomorrow we shall probably fight again. Since the 3rd of May I have been in thirteen Battles and hard ones too. You have nice times at home it seems. Am sorry to hear it. Glad I am not there to participate. Do not even wish to be there instead of here. Now Maj. Abbott is killed shall not stop three years longer—if Capt. Patten is wounded again I shall have command of the Regiment. I hope 'twill not be so. My turn may come tomorrow. God knows better than we. I have been most providentally spared—men shot all around me yet I am spared—one ball went over my shoulder and through Mr. Christian's neck—a Nantucket man. Many such cases have happened and if there is such a thing as Providence it has been demonstrated in my case—we must have lost 60,000 men. The butchery is horrible and our wounded are not properly cared for. If you are strong enough to get off yourself you are all right, if not, no one brings you—rough ain't it?

Am glad you had so pleasant a time at Sconset. Poor Holmes* got a bad wound. His recovery is doubtful. Male is hit through the shoulder

*Refers to Capt. Albert B. Holmes of Nantucket.

—Perkins through the face and neck—Kelliher was hit by a shell yesterday which tore his whole shoulder off and his cheek—Curtis got shot through the back—Bond had his jaw broke and in going to the rear, the Guerillas shot him through the lungs—Got to move right off—

J. W. SUMMERHAYES.

May 22.
one mile from Milford.

Dear Lizzie:

I shall write you two or three lines as I have a chance. I just got your letter and you must feel my gratitude. I wish I could answer all my letters but it's not possible. I sit now behind the Rifle Pits we threw up last night and the pickets are popping away in front of us. Every moment we expect an attack. We are now separated from the army. Have driven the enemy through Bowling Green and Milford and shall, if the 5th. Corps can get here, go to Hanover Junction. One fight here and one at Hanover Junction and if successful, Hurrah for Richmond, that is, if any of us are left. I am again one of three left but am now in Command of the Regiment. I am heart sick; only think of our loss and Maj. Abbott too. I shall not stop in the Army after my time is out if I escape here, and I shall either get killed or wounded before is is over. at any rate I shall try to do my duty. I don't want to come home without I am dead, and shall be buried on the Battle field if possible—don't let my letter make you feel blue. By—those sharp shooters do shoot close—my love to Emmy. Tell her not to get discouraged but keep a good heart and she will soon be well. Tell her I am covered with glory—I took a gun the other day in the Chg. and fired their own shell and canister back at them. I have sent Em. that Trefoil that Mary Eliza gave me, but I wish she would give it back to its original owner, as I promised to lend her one and can not now do it. It has been in 12 hard fights and does not look very fancy.

Yours with love to all. That fellow fires so I must move, so good by.

JOHN.

I sent the Trefoil in Uncle Tim's letter and will send some of you a piece of our colors which are now rags.

List of Battles I have been engaged in; give it to Aunt Hattie.

1. Balls Bluff—wounded in hand. 2. West Point. 3. Fair Oaks May 31th, June st. 5. Peace Orchard. 6. Savage Station. 7. Glendale

—wounded in foot. 8. White Oak Swamp. 9. Malvern Hill. 10. Malvern Hill. 11. Antietam. 12. Fredericksburg 11th Dec. 13. Fredericksburg 13th Dec. 15. Chancellorsville 2 days. 17. Gettysburg 2d. 3d. 4th. 18 Bristows Station. 19. Mine Run. 20. Yorktown.

This is from the official acct. I am the only officer in the Regiment who has been through all of them. What shall be the next—your aff.

COUSIN JOHN.

SUMMERHAYES, John Wyer:

Lieutenant-colonel, U. S. Army; born in Massachusetts; appointed from New York. Private, corporal and sergeant Company I, and sergeant major, Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, Sept. 9, 1861, to March 14, 1863; second lieutenant, Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, March 14, 1863; first lieutenant, Sept. 8, 1863; captain, Oct. 10, 1863; brevet major, Volunteers, April 9, 1865, for meritorious service in the campaign terminating with the surrender of the insurgent army under General R. E. Lee; honorably mustered out June 6, 1865; second lieutenant Thirty-third Infantry, Jan. 22, 1867; transferred to Eighth Infantry, May 3, 1869; first lieutenant, Dec. 15, 1874; regimental adjutant, Jan. 1 to May 19, 1886; regimental quartermaster, May 20, 1886, to March 9, 1889; captain A. Q. M. Feb. 25, 1889; major chief Q. M. Volunteers, May 12, 1898; honorably discharged from volunteers, Dec. 2, 1898; major Q. M., Nov. 11, 1898; retired, Jan. 6, 1900; brevet March 2, 1867, for gallant and meritorious service in the battle of Ball's Bluff, Va., and March 2, 1867, for gallant and meritorious service in the battle of Cold Harbor, Va.

Major Summerhayes was promoted to Lieut. Colonel by an Act of Congress, shortly after his retirement in 1900.

Col. Summerhayes died in March, 1911, on the island of Nantucket, and is buried in the National Cemetery in Arlington, Va., where, as you enter the gate, you may read at your right, on a bronze tablet the first verse of O'Hara's immortal poem:—

* * * * *

"The muffled drum's sad roll has beat
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade shall meet
That brave and fallen few.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards, with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

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EX-GOVERNOR JOHN Q. A. BRACKETT

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Statesman, scholar, orator—a type of the older school of gentlemen, which succeeded so well in combining all these three—John Q. A. Brackett, ex-Governor of Massachusetts, stands out today as one of the most interesting figures in the Commonwealth.

For the past four decades he has been in the public eye. He has held successive municipal and state offices. He has been chief executive of the Commonwealth. He has sat at conventions of the Republican national party when Presidents were chosen, has been a leader in promotion of legislation effectively aiding the welfare of the community, has thrown himself whole-heartedly into the fight for betterment of conditions; and even today this gray-haired New Englander, still mentally alert and vigorous despite his 72 years of activity, is recognized as one of the best informed, well poised authorities on public matters in the Commonwealth.

To the younger men of the present generation—especially to the embryo attorney and to the young man just starting in public life—the career of Ex-Governor Brackett is an inspiration to honest endeavor. It is a career that exemplifies clearly the fact that the road to true success lies through generous, whole-souled, unswerving devotion to high ideals of public service.

Governor Brackett is essentially a son of New England—born within her boundaries, a descendant of her earliest settlers, educationally a

product of her schools, vocationally an attorney at her bars of justice and throughout all his mature years passionately devoted to the promotion of her public welfare. Indeed, he might well be cited as a type of the model New Englander.

He was born up in the sturdy "hill country" of New Hampshire, in Bradford, a town of a thousand or less inhabitants, which nestles in a dimple of the ridge of hills separating the Merrimac and the Connecticut valleys. Bradford is still his Summer home, and the people of Bradford acclaim him as their most noted son. His birthday was June 8, 1842. His father, Ambrose Spencer Brackett, was born in Quincy, Mass., August 6, 1814, and was a descendant in the seventh generation of Captain Richard Brackett, who came over in Winthrop's fleet which arrived in Boston in 1630. Captain Richard Brackett, who was born about 1610, supposedly in Scotland, and who died in 1690 in Braintree, Mass., was one of the signers, August 27, 1630, of the covenant of the First Church in Boston, and the same year was appointed keeper of the prison. In 1639 he was admitted into membership of the artillery company which has since become famous as the "Ancient and Honorable." For six years, too, he was a deputy to the General Court and Chief commander in Braintree, from which he derived his title. The line of descent is: Richard[1], James[2], Joseph[3, 4, 5, 6], Ambrose[7], John Q. A.[8].

Governor Brackett's mother was Nancy, daughter of John and Sarah (Gregg) Brown and was born in Bradford, December 31, 1816. She was a granddaughter of John Brown, the first settler of what was known as "John Brown's Corner" and moderator of the first town meeting held in Bradford under the charter granted the town in 1787.

After their marriage on October 4, 1838, the parents of the ex-Governor took up residence in Bradford and the father was soon prominent in public affairs of the town and county. In 1855 he was elected Road Commissioner for Merrimac County. A pioneer in the cause of abolition, he was a vigorous, as he was an early member of the Republican party and until his death in 1878 he remained an interested and active worker for the principles of that political party.

The early life of the future governor was spent in Bradford. He fitted for college at Colby Academy, New London, N. H., and was graduated in 1861. Declining an appointment to West Point tendered by Hon

Mason W. Tappan, then representative in Congress from the district in which he lived. the young man decided to pursue his studies at Harvard, and that autumn came as a student to the state the destinies of which he was later to aid in deciding. His college course was brilliant. Before long he drew attention to himself not only because of his pleasing personality, but also by virtue of his scholarly attainments and his marked ability as an orator. For the class day exercises in 1865, the young New Hampshire student was chosen class orator.

Having determined on law as a profession, he studied at the Harvard Law School, graduated and gained entrance to the Massachusetts Bar in 1868 and promptly opened up for practice in Boston.

In the four decades since that time the young lawyer has risen from practical obscurity to a success and renown enviable and seldom attained. His knowledge of the law, his power of argumentative reasoning, his oratorical ability and his impressive personality soon began to win him recognition in the ranks of attorneys.

Nor was it long before he began to gain recognition in public life. In 1872 he was elected a member of the Common Council of Boston, was its president in 1876, and when he finally retired from that body at the end of that year it was only to enter the State House as a member of the House of Representatives, carrying with him recognition far and wide as a man destined to rise to high things in the political life of the Bay State.

He served in the general court from 1877 to 1881 and again from 1884 to 1886. His service on important committees led to his selection as chairman of the Judiciary committee in 1884 and in 1885 he was elected Speaker of the House and reelected in 1886.

In the fall of 1886 the Republican party nominated him for the office of Lieutenant Governor and he was elected. He held that office for three years, acting as Governor part of the time because of the illness of Governor Ames. His public addresses at this time commanded widespread praise, particularly the eloquent oration which he delivered at the dedication of the Pilgrim's monument in Plymouth in 1889—an address possessing such unusual character that it was widely commented upon and the Boston Globe selected an extract to print as one of its "Famous Gems of Prose."

In 1889 he was elected Governor of the Commonwealth. His incum-

bency of that office was notable for sane, progressive, patriotic statesmanship.

When the time came for him to retire from the gubernatorial chair, he returned to the practice of his profession. But he has never lost interest in public affairs and his finger has always been at the pulse of events. He was a delegate-at-large to the Republican national convention at Minneapolis in 1892 and in the convention served as the Massachusetts member of the committee on platform. In 1896 he was chosen the first of the two Presidential electors-at-large in Massachusetts and at the meeting of the electors of this state in January, 1897, was elected their chairman, and as such cast the first electoral vote of Massachusetts for William McKinley for President of the United States. In 1901 he again served as presidential elector-at-large, being elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Ex-Governor Wolcott, who had been chosen at the election the preceding November.

From the very start of his public career, Governor Brackett has been the promoter of effective legislation for the welfare of the working classes. One of the great works of his public life has been his sturdy championship of the establishment of co-operative banks, or building and loan associations, in Massachusetts, believing as he does, that in facilitating home ownership among workingmen they not only confer a great benefit upon those who through their aid thus become home owners, but that they promote good citizenship and good government and are thereby rendering an important public service. As House chairman of the Committee on Labor in 1877, he reported in behalf of the committee the original bill authorizing their incorporation in this state and has delivered many addresses upon this subject not only in Massachusetts, but also in other states, where he is known as a prominent advocate of the cause, having in 1907 addressed the United States League of Building and Loan Associations at its annual convention in Chicago and in 1909 and 1910 having addressed the State Leagues of New York, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois.

A brilliant exposition of the fundamental principles upon which this whole important subject is based was given by Governor Brackett not long ago in the following article, contributed by request to one of the Boston daily newspapers, following a recommendation contained in the inaugural address of the present Governor of the Commonwealth. The

article sets forth in characteristic style Governor Brackett's reasons for devoting his energies to the promotion of this work. The article reads:

GOVERNMENT AID TO HOME OWNERSHIP.

"Governor Walsh in recommending in his inaugural address the calling of a constitutional convention suggests as one of 'the proposals most persistently pressing for constitutional authority' the following: 'Homestead legislation, whereby the Commonwealth may help people of small means to acquire homes of their own.'

"As the able address of the governor contains so many progressive and excellent recommendations this suggestion is liable to be overshadowed by others and to receive less public attention than it deserves. It appeals with special force to the writer, as he has for many years been interested in the subject of promoting home ownership among the people. He is, therefore, glad of this opportunity to state some of the reasons in favor of this proposition.

"While doubtless it will generally be agreed that a man will be better off if he lives in a comfortable house of his own in the suburbs rather than in a crowded, ill-conditioned tenement house in the city, the question may be asked why the state should help him to acquire that ownership. It will probably be objected that it is not one of the functions of the government to render such assistance.

"The answer to this objection is that in rendering it the government would not only be benefiting the man whom it helps to become a home owner, but would at the same time be doing a work directly for the benefit of the state. It would be promoting the public welfare, as well as the welfare of the individual who is aided.

"Home ownership fosters a conservative, law-abiding spirit. It conduces to good government. The greater the proportion of the citizens of the state who own the homes they occupy, the better will be the government of the state. The man who becomes the owner of his home not only thereby acquires a higher social standing, a better opportunity for sharing in the good things of life, but he has a stronger incentive for being a good citizen. He realizes that he has a greater interest in the community, that he is a more important part of the body politic. As a tax payer on his home he feels more deeply the necessity of good government, of economy in public expenditures, of the maintenance of law and order, of the protection of property.

"The late Hon. Josiah Quincy, the second mayor of Boston of that name, who in his old age devoted himself to the work of assisting workingmen to become the owners of their homes and as a means to that end, when past his seventieth year, became the leader of the movement which resulted in the enactment in 1877 of the law authorizing the establish-

ment of those useful institutions, the co-operative banks, which have done so much for the cause he had at heart, in a book written a short time before his death, entitled 'Figures of the Past,' relates how he attended, when a young man, a session of the Constitutional Convention of 1820, and heard a speech by the venerable ex-President John Adams upon a proposition to limit the right of suffrage to men possessing property to the value of at least $200.

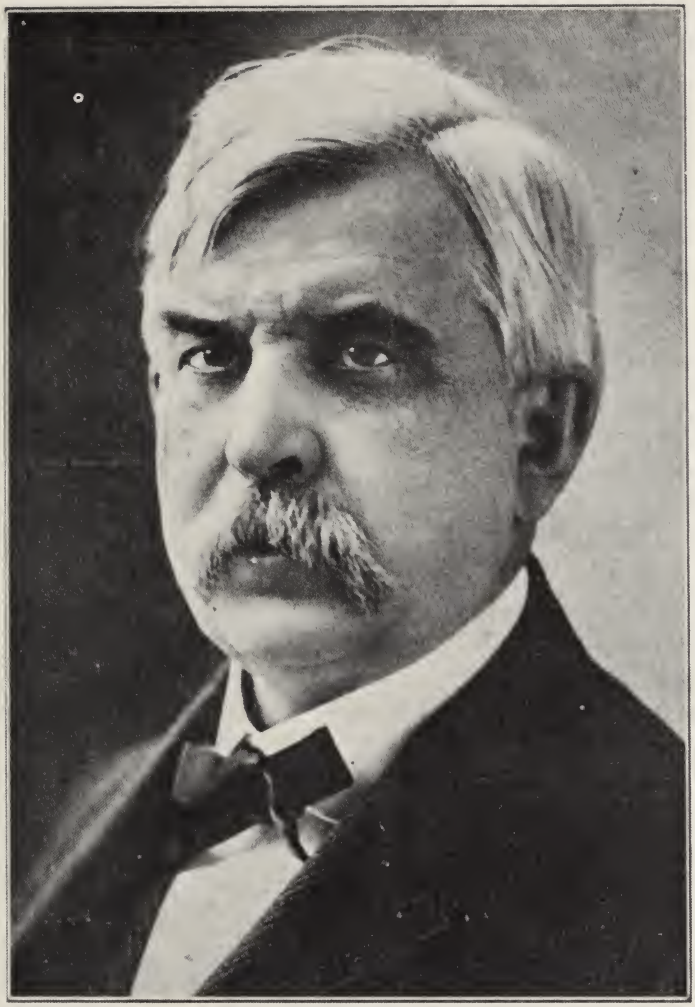
"The arguments in favor of the limitation were that it was the poor man who had laboriously earned the $200 who lost his political all when those who had no stake whatever in the community were admitted to vote him down; that the rich man by the influence resulting from his property over those who had nothing to lose and everything to gain from his favor would make himself master of the situation; that it was to secure a genuine representation of the poor against the usurpations of the rich that it was desired to impose a small pecuniary qualification upon voters.

"These arguments, however, forcible as they were, failed in their purpose, and Mr. Quincy, commenting upon them, says: 'It is perhaps better that they should have failed, if we, now realizing the danger that they pointed out, shall hasten to remove all obstacles which prevent a man of reasonable industry from acquiring an independent home. Who can doubt that if those statesmen were with us today they would tell us that this was the way to mitigate and finally abolish the evils which they foresaw?'

"These words should be pondered by the statesman and by all public-spirited citizens. If the possession of property aids in qualifying men for wisely exercising the right of suffrage, then whatever is conducive, in a sane, legitimate way, to the acquisition of property, especially of real estate for homesteads, by those not possessing it but having the right to vote, will tend to improve their qualifications as voters and thereby promote good government.

"It follows as a corollary from these considerations that the greater the number of American citizens in whom the ownership of the lands of the state and nation is vested the stronger will be that conservative force upon which we must depend for a defense against the perils arising from the spirit of discontent and unrest that is abroad, the conflicts between employers and employed, with their attendant tumult and disorder, the anarchistic doctrines that are being disseminated, the antipathies existing between classes by reason of inequalities of condition, the graft and corruption in public affairs, and all the kindred evils which are today so apparent and which are exciting the solicitude of all thoughtful men who desire the preservation and perpetuity of our system of government by the people.

"Some may say that, admitting the force of this argument, the question is how as a practical matter is the end sought to be attained. It



Ex-Governor J. Q. A. BRACKETT.

may be asked if it is intended to have the state buy dwelling houses and give them to poor men or give them the money with which to buy such homes.

"The answer is that nothing of the kind is proposed. The proposition, as stated in the Governor's address, it will be noticed, is for legislation 'to help people of small means to acquire homes of their own.'

"To help people to acquire homes is a very different thing from giving them homes. It is simply helping them to help themselves, and this is always a better service to men needing assistance than charity.

"In just what way this help can judiciously be furnished it is not now necessary to specify. The question at present to be considered is whether it is desirable for the state to furnish such help in any way. If it is and if constitutional authority can be obtained for the legislation required and the legislature thereafter deems such legislation expedient, what its form shall be can then be determined.

"The thing to do now is to secure the requisite authority, and to that end a specific amendment can be proposed and agreed to at this session and referred to the next General Court so that, if agreed to by the latter, it can then be submitted to the people, as provided by the constitution for making amendments thereto. That is the first step and in order that time may be saved, I trust that it may be taken by the present General Court, whatever may be its action upon the question of calling a constitutional convention as recommended by the Governor."

Governor Brackett was president of that well-known Republican organization, the Middlesex Club, from 1893 to 1901. On the occasion of his seventy-second birthday, in June, 1914, he was invited by the present Governor and by all the other living ex-Governors of the Commonwealth to accept a public dinner in recognition of the event. This honor he declined, but at the annual meeting of the Middlesex Club, held June 6, 1914, he was made a special guest of the club in honor of his birthday and of the twenty-first anniversary of his election as president of the organization in 1893, as well as of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the movement which resulted in his nomination for Governor of the State.

On the occasion of this dinner the white-haired ex-Governor made a masterful address urging that national regulation of labor be made a plank in the platform of the reorganized Republican party. To the younger statesmen the Governor's clear analysis of conditions, brilliancy of rhetorical expression and effectiveness in oratorical delivery were revelations of the ability which this ever-young statesman still possesses.

This speech is worthy of preservation in an account of his life and

deeds. Almost any other man, on such an occasion, when a great gathering had been vying in paying him honor, would have spoken entirely from a personal point of view and would have spoken only in pleasure and thanks for the honors which the noted men around him had tendered to him as their special guest. But Governor Brackett is not an ordinary man. He seized the oportunity to deliver a message, and when the cheers which greeted his introduction had subsided, after expressing his thanks for the cordial greeting, he swung directly into his appeal for national labor laws. His speech, as reported in the daily press, was:

ADDRESS BEFORE MIDDLESEX CLUB.

"I wish to avail myself of the opportunity which this gathering of Republicans affords to present for your consideration a subject which, as I believe. is of importance to the industrial interests of the country and which offers to the Republican party a field for service to those interests directly in accord with the services it has rendered in the past. I trust, therefore, that it may be deemed germane to this occasion.

"As a preface to my remarks upon this subject I ask your attention to a resolution introduced in the last Congress proposing an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress the power to pass laws regulating the hours of labor throughout the United States. This resolution has attracted, so far as I am aware, but little public notice. I do not remember to have seen it commented upon in the press or on the platform. It was introduced by our friend and fellow member of the club, the Hon. Samuel W. McCall, and was one of the many evidences of the wise and progressive statesmanship which characterized his career in Congress.

"It was a step in the right direction and should be followed by other steps in the same direction. Not only should the national government have the power to regulate the hours of labor, but it should also have the power to regulate the industries of the United States generally by just and comprehensive legislation applicable to the whole country, impartially.

"The labor question in its various phases is a question of the utmost importance. It is a national question and requires for its solution national treatment. It cannot be adequately and satisfactorily treated by State legislation, on account of the competition existing between the industries of the several states. A state law, for instance, limiting the hours of labor, while just in itself and for the benefit of the workingmen of that state, may, by increasing the labor cost of their products, place their employers at a disadvantage in competing with the manufacturers of like products in other states in which there is no such limitation.

"Massachusetts stands peerless among the states of the union for its legislation for the betterment of the condition of its workingmen. But

there is no doubt that some of these laws operate to the detriment of the manufacturers of Massachusetts, for the reasons stated. The remedy to be sought for this condition of things is not by repealing these laws but by having the National government enact similar laws, so that the manufacturers of all the states may compete on fair and equal terms, in so far as this end can be effected by legislation.

"Take the subject of child labor for illustration. This is cheaper than the labor of men, and hence the labor cost of the products of factories in which it is employed is less than that of those in which it is not, enabling usch products to be sold at a less price and accordingly giving the manufacturers thereof an advantage in the market over those who employ men only. Consequently a state law prohibiting child labor in factories, just and beneficent as it is, handicaps the manufacturers of such state in their competition with those of other states having no such laws.

"To remedy this inequality and injustice there should be a national law, based upon the broad humanitarian principle that the place for the child is the schoolhouse and the playground, rather than the mill or the mine, prohibiting such labor everywhere in the United States.

"This is a matter clearly of national significance since it has a bearing upon the welfare of all the people of the nation. A child growing up in ignorance becuse working in a mill or mine in one state at the age at which he should be in school, when he reaches maturity becomes a citizen, not only of that state, but also of the United States, having as such citizen the same power as a voter and therefore the same voice in the government as the most intelligent citizen; and as it is essential to the security, progress and well being of a government of the people that the people possessing the governing power should have the greatest degree of intelligence possible, the government of the United States should have and exercise the power to prevent the existence anywhere within its domain of a system the effect of which is to deprive any portion of the future citizens of the Republic of this requisite qualification for citizenship.

"This, therefore, is not only an industrial, but is also an educational question, and one pertaining to good citizenship and good government. Accordingly the legislation under consideration is needed not only to protect the right of the child to an education and the right of the workingman to be exempt from an unfair competition which tends to lower his wages and hence to deprive him of his just share of the comforts of life, but also to safeguard the character and stability of the government itself.

"Half a century ago slave labor was abolished by the nation under the lead of the Republican party. Child labor should now be abolished in the same way.

"There is another reason for national labor legislation—that furnished by the strikes and labor wars constantly occuring, with the attendant tumult and disorder and revolutionary outbreaks which are so menacing to

the public peace and prosperity. Disastrous as these conflicts are to the parties thereto on account of the losses thereby suffered by both, their effects are not confined to these parties, but are felt by all the people.

"A coal strike in Pennsylvania, for instance, does not only affect the striking miners and their employers and the affairs of that state alone, but by diminishing the supply of coal and thereby increasing its price, imposes an additional burden upon every industry and every home in the land in which coal is a necessity. These troubles, therefore, being national in their scope, should be dealt with by just and effective national laws providing a system for settling the questions involved, in whatever section they may arise, in a way that shall be fair and equitable to both sides.

"The general proposition here advocated is one that I believe will appeal to both workingmen and their employers, because it promises to benefit both. It is an old saying that the interests of labor and capital are identical. It is not always easy to recognize the truth of the saying, but in this case these interests are manifestly identical.

"This proposition is strictly in conformity with one of the fundamental principles of the Republican party—that relating to the functions of the national government. That principle is that the nation has, and should have, broad and comprehensive powers for promoting the general welfare of the people. It is clearly differentiated from the Democratic theory that the powers of the nation are extremely limited.

"This difference was manifested at the birth of the Republican party, which was founded upon the principle that the nation had the power to save the territories of the United States from the blight of human slavery, and that it was the duty of the nation to exercise that power. The Democratic party denied both the power and the duty.

"Upon this issue the campaign of 1860 was fought and won by the Republican party. The Democratic doctrine as to the powers of the nation, which has masqueraded under the name of State Rights, could more appropriately be styled the doctrine of national incompetency. This was illustrated at the outbreak of the Rebellion, when Mr. Buchanan, the then Democratic president, while deprecating the secession movement, publicly declared that he had under the constitution no power as President to prevent it. But his Republican successor, Abraham Lincoln, actually did what Mr. Buchanan thought the President could not do.

"With the aid of the patriotic soldiers of the Republic in the field and the support of its loyal citizens at home, he suppressed secession and saved the Republic from disintegration and destruction. Instead of spending time in searching the Constitution to ascertain whether it gave him, in express terms, the power to save the nation, feeling that it was his inherent duty as the head of the nation to save it, he proceeded at once to the performance of that duty and accomplished that great purpose.

"This difference in their conceptions of the powers of the national government between Abraham Lincoln, the Republican, and James Buchanan, the Democrat, exemplifies one of the cardinal differences between the two great parties which they respectively represented. That difference has continued to the present time. Against nearly every great national measure for the benefit of the people of the nation the Democratic party has interposed its worn out theory of State Rights.

"When the beneficent pure food legislation was proposed in Congress one leading Democratic Congressman opposed it on the ground that 'it invaded the police authority of the states;' another leading Democratic Congressman argued that in passing the bill 'we rob the states of their inherent sovereignty.' Of the national law giving to employes of railroads engaged in interstate commerce the right to compensation for injuries suffered in the course of their employment a Democratic statesman of Connecticut, subsequently elected governor of that state, said that 'the national government has no business thus attempting to usurp powers of the states.' Upon the same grounds the Democratic party will doubtless antagonize the proposition for national labor legislation. We ought to welcome the issue.

"If the Republicans of Massachusetts should incorporate in their platform this year a plank favoring such legislation and make it a prominent feature in the campaign, they would, I am confident, thereby contribute effectively to Republican success; and should the next Republican national convention follow the lead of Massachusetts in this respect, we should have in the next presidential campaign a new issue upon which we can grandly win."

This speech drew forth commendatory editorial comment even from the Democratic papers, the Boston Post especially saying of it: "In his able and eminently sensible remarks, Mr. Brackett said a great deal worth thinking about in this regard."

Governor Brackett married, June 20, 1878, Angie Moore, daughter of Abel G. and Eliza A. Peck, of Arlington. They have two children, John Gaylord, born April 12, 1879, and Beatrice, born June 23, 1888.

The family residence is in Arlington, where the son, Judge John Gaylord Brackett, has been moderator of the town meetings for several years. Judge Brackett was graduated from Harvard in 1901. The family traditions of public service bid well to be carried still further by him, for he has already held such public positions as that of assistant in the office of the district attorney of Middlesex county and has twice been a member of the House of Representatives, serving on the Judiciary committee and as chairman of the important committee on Bills in the Third Reading. He was appointed a special justice of the municipal court of Boston in 1913. He married Miss Louise Clark, of Cambridge, April 12, 1914. His residence is in Arlington near that of Governor Brackett.

[This is the seventeenth of a series of articles, giving the organization and history of all the Massachusetts regiments which took part in the war of the Revolution.]

GENERAL JOHN THOMAS'S AND COLONEL JOHN BAILEY'S REGIMENTS

COLONEL JOHN BAILEY'S OR GENERAL JOHN THOMAS'S REGIMENT, APRIL 19, 1775.
GENERAL JOHN THOMAS'S 2ND REGIMENT, PROVINCIAL ARMY, APRIL-JULY, 1775.
COLONEL JOHN BAILEY'S 35TH REGIMENT, ARMY OF THE UNITED COLONIES, JULY-DECEMBER, 1775.

By FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

The above named organizations are considered together as they formed practically one regiment which was reorganized as the different armies were formed. The officers and men were almost entirely Plymouth county residents. When the Lexington alarm was sounded, April 19, 1775, eight companies responded as members of Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, under the following officers:

Captain, Robert Orr
First Lieutenant, Elisha Mitchell.
Second Lieutenant, Robert Dawes.

Captain, Josiah Hayden.
First Lieutenant, Nathan Packard.
Second Lieutenant, Zachariah Gurney.

Captain, Daniel Lothrop.
First Lieutenant Ephraim Jackson.
Second Lieutenant Nathaniel Packard.

Captain, Amos Turner.

First Lieutenant Benjamin Bass.
Second Lieutenant Seth Bates.

Captain Samuel Stockbridge.
First Lieutenant Howard Pierce.
Second Lieutenant Pickles Cushing.

Captain Freedom Chamberlin.
First Lieutenant Jno. Turner.
Ensign Jno. Leavitt.

Captain John Clapp.
First Lieutenant Nathaniel Winslow.
Second Lieutenant Joshua Jacobs.

Captain William Reed.
First Lieutenant Samuel Brown.
Second Lieutenant, Solomon Shaw.

In the records of the Committee of Safety, under date of April 29, 1775, we read: "Voted, That General Thomas be desired to distribute the orders which he has received, some time since, for enlisting a regiment, to such captains as he thinks proper." Just when the orders above referred to were issued we do not know as no record of the same has been found. The writer is inclined to believe that Colonel John Bailey's Lexington Alarm Regiment and the regiment above referred to as being enlisted by General Thomas were one and the same. This opinion is borne out by a list which appears upon the roll of Captain Josiah Hayden's Company, preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, folio 69, page 2. The field and staff officers named were as follows:

Hon. John Thomas, Coll.	April 25, 1775.
John Bailey, Lt. Col.	" " "
Thomas Mitchell, Major	" " "
John Jacobs, Major	" " "
Luther Bailey, Adjt.	" " "
Adams Bailey, Quartermaster	" " "
Lemuel Cushing, Surgeon	" " "

In the other company rolls of this early regiment, Colonel Bailey is

named as the commander. Two other officers were named in the list on Captain Hayden's roll, one of whom—Chaplain Isaac Mansfield had no date attached and was marked "absent" while the other—Surgeon's Mate Seth Ames was mentioned as joining the regiment September 1, 1775. Lists of field and staff officers of General Thomas's Regiment in the Provincial Army, (April-July 1775) found in the archives, contain the same names with the exception of one dated June 30, which names Gad Hitchcock as Surgeon's Mate.

The company offcers of the regiment in the Provincial Army were as follows:

Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Officers	Total
James Allen	Jacob Allen	Perez Warren	3	65
Amos Turner	Prince Studson	Joshua Barstow	3	59
Sam'l Stockbridge	Atwood Mott	Caleb Nicols	3	59
Nath'l Winslow	Joshua Jacobs	Nath. Chittenden	3	59
Freedom Chamberlin	John Turner Jun	John Leavitt	3	57
Eleazer Hamlen	Amos Shaw	Increase Robinson	3	59
William Read	Samuel Brown	Solomon Shaw	3	64
Josiah Hayden	Zachariah Gurney	Joseph Cole Jun	3	60
Daniel Lothrop	Ephraim Jackson	Abner Howard	3	55
Elisha Crocker	King Lapham	Jacob Rogers	3	59
				596

In another list the name of the ensign in Captain Turner's Company is given as John "Barlow", and the name of the ensign in Captain Winslow's Company is spelled "Crittington".

"In Committee of Safety, May 24, 1775.

General Thomas having satisfied this Committee that his regiment is compleat we recommend to the Congress that said Regiment be Commissioned accordingly.

William Cooper Secy."

The regiment was divided at this period, some of the companies being stationed at Roxbury and others in Plymouth County as shown by the records the Provincial Congress. A committee of that body appointed to "consider by what means the army before Boston, may be effectually and most expeditiously strengthened". reported that they judged it "absolutely necessary that the eight companies stationed in the County of Plymouth, belonging partly to General Thomas's regiment, and partly to

Col. Cotton's regiment, be immediately ordered to joint the army as soon as possible, and that directions be immediately given to General Ward for that purpose."

In the records of the Provincial Congress under date of June 30, 1775, we read the following:

"Ordered, That warrants be made out to the following officers, viz.: Doct. Lemuel Cushing, surgeon; Doct. Gad Hitchcock, surgeon's mate; Adam Bayley, quarter master; Luther Bayley, adjutant; in General Thomas's regiment."

"Thirty-seven small arms, valued at eighty-five pounds seven shillings were delivered General Thomas, for the use of his regiment, as by his receipt on file", according to the records of the Provincial Congress under date of July 5, 1775.

The following list shows the towns represented in the companies in this regiment:

Captains.
James Allen, Bridgewater, Halifax.
Josiah Hayden, Bridgewater, Abington etc.
Freedom Chamberlain, Pembroke etc.
Daniel Lothrop, Bridgewater etc.
William Reed, Abington, Bridgewater, Norton.
Amos Turner, Hanover, Marshfield.
Elijah Crocker, Scituate, Marshfield, Middleboro, etc.
Samuel Stockbridge, Scituate.
Nathaniel Winslow, Scituate, Hanover, Egg Harbor.
Eleazer Hamlen, Pembroke, Abington etc.

When the Army of the United Colonies was formed in July, 1775, this regiment became the 35th and was in General Thomas's Brigade, General Ward's Division. The field officers were promoted as follows:

Colonel, John Bailey.
Lieut. Colonel, Thomas Mitchell.
Major, John Jacobs.

The regiment under Colonel Bailey served until the end of the year at Roxbury.

Twenty-two of the officers of this regiment had seen service in the French war, one serving as colonel, two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns and one cornet. The ranks attained by the officers during the Amer-

ican Revolution were as follows: One major-general, two colonels, two lieut. colonels, three majors, twenty-two captains, ten first lieutenants, four second lieutenants, four ensigns, two surgeons and one chaplain.

The strength of the regiment is shown each month in the following table.

Date.	Com. Off.	Staff.	Non Com.	Rank and file.	Total.
June 9.	30	4 (field)	62	492	588
July	34	5	60	500	599
Aug. 18	24	5	57	485	571
Sept. 23	27	5	50	479	561
Oct. 17	24	5	44	474	547
Nov. 18	26	5	51	464	546
Dec. 30	25	5	49	464	543

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN THOMAS was the son of John and Lydia (Waterman) Thomas and was born in Marshfield in 1724. He became a physician in Marshfield and in 1746 was surgeon of a regiment in Nova Scotia. In the following year he was appointed on the medical staff of General William Shirley's Regiment. He was still a resident of Marshfield in March 12th, 1759, on which date he was appointed Colonel of a regiment, commanding that organization at Halifax until May 14, 1760. He led the left wing of the detachment under Colonel William Haviland from Lake Champlain to cooperate with the army, moving against Montreal in August, 1760, took part in the capture of that city and later returned to Massachusetts and practised medicine in Kingston. In September, 1774, he was one of the delegates from Kingston to the Plymouth County Convention and was a member of a committee of nine which drew up resolutions condemning the British government for their acts towards the inhabitants of the Province. He was a member of the First Provincial Congress from Kingston, in October, 1774. During the session he was appointed on committees to "inquire into the state and operations of the army" and "to consider what is necessary to be done for the defense and safety of the province." Dec. 8, 1774, this same congress appointed him one of the general officers. On the following day he was made a member of a committee to "take into consideration a plan of military exercise, proposed by Captain Timothy Pickering." He represented Kingston in the Second Provincial Congress in February, 1775, and served

on many important committees. February 9th he was appointed by this body one of five general officers. On the same day he was appointed chairman of a committee "to bring in a resolve, directing how the ordnance of the province shall be used." February 10th he was made a member of a committee "to revise the commission of the committee of safety, and the commission of the committee of supplies, and to point out what amendments, if any, are necessary." In the Committee of Safety, April 29, 1775, orders were given to General Thomas "for seizing Governor Hutchinson's papers." In the same committee May 2nd, it was voted "that General Thomas be desired to give such orders, respecting the whale boats at Falmouth, and other ports southward, as he may judge proper." On the same day a resolve was passed "that agreeably to a vote of Congress, General Thomas be directed and empowered to appoint suitable persons, to accompany such people into the country as may be permitted to bring their effects into Boston, upon the conditions mentioned in the proclamations posted up, and that General Thomas give such general orders as he may judge the common safety requires." Two days later a vote was passed that "a chest of medicine be removed from hence to Roxbury, under the care of General Thomas," and on the 13th it was voted "that General Thomas be desired to deliver out medicines to such persons as he shall think proper, for the use of the sick soldiers at Roxbury, until the surgeons for the respective regiments are regularly appointed."

On the ninth of May it was thought that the British intended to make a sally and at a council of war, request was made for reinforcements to be sent to Roxbury. The officers in the ten towns nearest were ordered to send immediately, one-half of their militia and all of the minute-men. General Thomas had but seven hundred men under his command and Gordon tells us that in order to deceive the British he "continued marching his seven hundred men round and round the hill, (which was visible from Boston) and by this means multiplied their appearance to any who were reconnoitering them."

May 12th 1775, he wrote to the Committee of Safety, that he "found no establishment made by the Congress for such officers as Adjutant and Quartermaster General, which officers are as necessary, in a large encampment, as almost any whatever; and where any number of Regiments are posted in camp, there cannot be a proper regulation of duty without such." He asked whether he might be allowed to give encouragement to any suitable persons for such office, that they will receive any reward in future

if they will undertake it." He sent a second request, June 17, 1775, that such officers be appointed.

General Thomas sent a letter to the Third Provincial Congress upon the subject of advance pay for the soldiers and a committee appointed to consider it, reported May 31, 1775. On the following day they brought in a full report which stated in part that: "the receiver-general . . . had provided all necessary helps, . . . and that he should be able, at least, to pay off one regiment every day, and perhaps more;" General Thomas sent a letter to the Third Provincial Congress nominating Mr. Samuel Brewer, to be adjutant general in the Massachusetts army; "whereupon ordered that a commission be made out to him accordingly." He also sent a letter to the congress in regard to the wounded patriots who were held as prisoners in Boston and a committee appointed to consider it reported as follows: "that General Thomas be requested moderately to supply said prisoners with fresh meat, in case he can convey it to them, and them only." July 2nd an order was passed in the Third Provincial Congress that "Col. Mitchell deliver the 215 spears, which he has procured for the army, to General Thomas, at Roxbury."

On the 9th of July he was present at a council of war with Generals Washington,Ward, Lee, Putnam, Heath, Greene and Gates." General Thomas had received his commission as brigadier general in the Continental Army, June 23d, 1775.

Frothingham tells us that: "A long controversy arose in relation to some of the appointments, and particularly because Putnam was advanced over Spencer and Pomeroy over Thomas. General Spencer left the army without visting General Washington, or making known his intention, and General Thomas consented to remain only after the urgent solicitation of his friends. At length these difficulties were, in a great measure removed, by Spencer's consenting to return, and to take rank after Putnam, and Pomeroy's declining to serve." In the records of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, under date of July 22, we read: "Ordered, That Major Hawley, the Speaker, and Colonel Foster, be a Committee to prepare a letter to Generals, Thomas, Whitcomb, and Frye, desiring that they would continue in the service of the Colony, and assuring them that they shall receive a suitable and adequate reward for their services." This letter was prepared the same day, read in closed session and sent to each of the officers named.

His brigade July 22, 1775, was composed of the regiments of Generals

Ward and Thomas and Colonels Fellows, Cotton, Danielson and David Brewer. General Thomas continued with his brigade at Roxbury and particularly distinguished himself in the operations just prior to the evacuation of Boston by the British. On the night of March 4th about seven o'clock he marched with about two thousand men to take possession of Dorchester Heights. Frothingham states that: "A covering party of eight hundred led the way; the carts with the entrenching tools followed; then twelve hundred troops, under the immediate command of General Thomas; and a train of three hundred carts, loaded with fascines and hay bringing up the rear. The detachment, moving with the greatest silence, reached its place of destination about eight o'clock. The covering party then divided,—one half proceeding to the point nearest Boston, and the other half to the point nearest the castle,—while the working party commenced labor. Bundles of hay were placed along Dorchester Neck, on the side next to the enemy, by which the carts passed, some of them several times during night. . . . About four in the morning, a relief party went on. The labors of the night, under the direction of the veteran Gridley and his associates, were so efficient, that ere morning dawned, two forts were in sufficient forwardness to constitute a good defence against small arms and grape shot. 'Perhaps' Heath writes, 'there never was so much work done in so short a space of time.'" The Patriot leaders had hoped that the British would attack them on the 5th of March, the anniversary of the Boston Massacre and Frothingam tells us that: "The command of General Thomas, reinforced by two thousand men, was in high spirits, and ready and anxious to receive the enemy." In spite of the great preparations made on both sides, however, the attack was not made, owing to a severe storm with exceedingly high wind, making it impossible to navigate the boats. The Americans continued to strengthen their fortifications and plant new batteries and on the night of the 9th when they were discovered in their attempt to fortify Nook's Hill, the disclosure of their purpose resulted in severe cannonading during the entire night. A strong detachment was sent to Nook's Hill on the night of the 16th which succeeded in its purpose notwithstanding a British cannonading, and this resulted in the commencing of the embarkation early on the following morning. On the sixth of March, General Thomas was promoted to the rank of Major General by the Continental Congress and after the death of General Montgomery, was given command of the army in Canada. Washington Irving in his "Life of Washington" tells us that: "General Thomas

arrived at the camp in the course of April, and found the army in a forlorn condition, scattered at different posts and on the Island of Orleans. It was numerically increased to upward of two thousand men, but several hundred were unfit for service. The small-pox had made great ravages. They had inoculated each other. In their sick and debilitated state they were without barracks, and almost without medicine. A portion, whose term of enlistment had expired, refused to do duty, and clamored for their discharge. The winter was over, the river was breaking up, re-inforements to the garrison might immediately be expected, and then the case would be desperate. Observing that the river about Quebec was clear of ice, General Thomas determined on a bold effort. It was to send up a fire-ship with the flood, and, while the ships in the harbor were in flames and the town in confusion, to scale the walls." On the 3d of May, they had everything in readiness to carry out this plan but after the fire was lighted on board the ship, the sails caught fire and burned. Her headway was thus checked and she drifted harmlessly with the ebbing tide. The rest of the plan was consequently abandoned.

Retreat seemed the only course left for the Americans and as they were preparing to embark the sick and the military stores, five ships, on the sixth of May, made their way into the harbor and began to land their troops to relieve the British commander, General Carleton.

In the precipitate retreat which followed, the artillery, baggage and everything was abandoned, the sick and wounded being also left behind. General Thomas came to a halt at Point Deschambault about sixty miles above Quebec and called a council of war. The ships of the enemy were ascending the river, General Thomas had no cannon and the powder which General Schuyler had forwarded had fallen into the hands of the British. It was therefore decided to move still further up the river. They came to a stand at the mouth of the Sorel where they found General Thompson with troops from New York. Shortly after the arrival, General Thomas was taken with small pox and was removed to Chambley where he died June second, 1776.

COLONEL JOHN BAILEY of Hanover, son of John and Elizabeth (Cowen) Bailey, was born in Hanover, Mass., October 30, 1730. He was a Lieutenant in Captain David Stockbridge's Hanover Company. Colonel Thomas Clapp's Second Plymouth County Regiment in 1762, and Captain in the same regiment later in the year. The name also appears in the same

rank and regiment in September, 1771. He was Lieutenant Colonel in General John Thomas's Second Regiment in the Provincial Army from May to July, 1775. July 1, 1775, he was commissioned Colonel of the 35th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, and served through the year. When the army was reorganized in 1776, he was commissioned Colonel of the 23rd Regiment in the Continental Army. In September, 1776, his regiment and two others forming Glover's Brigade, were thanked by General Washington for gallant conduct, and when Washington resolved to make a certain dash upon the Hessians at Trenton, among the "trusted men" he picked out Bailey's Regiment. The troops were in two divisions. Bailey's was in the first. They crossed the river in the storm amid the floating ice and assisted in winning the fight. On the following morning Washington "warmly thanked" his army for their brave and steady conduct. January 1, 1777, he became Commander of the Second Regiment, Massachusetts Line. At the first Battle of Saratoga his regiment was in a brigade which occupied the center. At the second Battle of Saratoga he was in the left wing, which attacked the grenadiers and drove them from the field. He did not serve through the war as in April, 1780, he wrote to Washington asking for his discharge on account of ill health and domestic affairs. In October, 1780, an Act of Congress retired him on half pay for life, but it is thought it must have been commuted, as he died a poor man. Towards the close of his life he kept a tavern in Curtis Street, Hanover, where Abisha Soul resided in 1853. He died October 27, 1810.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL THOMAS MITCHELL, of Hanover, was a Captain of a Crown Point Expedition from September 9 to December 17, 1755. May 19, 1775, he was commissioned Major of General John Thomas's Second Provincial Regiment. When Lieutenant Colonel John Bailey was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and given command of the 35th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, Major Mitchell was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

MAJOR JOHN JACOBS of Scituate was the son of Joshua and Mary Jacobs and was born May 23, 1735. He was Ensign in Major Theophilus Cushing's Second Hingham Company, Colonel Joshua Quincy's Third Suffolk Regiment, January 21, 1762. He served as Adjutant of the first Battalion of Colonel Thomas Clapp's Regiment for a time in 1762. He was Ensign in the Sutton Company, Colonel John Chandler's first Worcester

Regiment in 1771. He was first Lieutenant in Colonel Ebenezer Learned's Regiment, April 19, 1775, on the Lexington alarm. May 19, 1775, he was commissioned Major in General John Thomas's Second Provincial Regiment. After the army was reorganized in July he held the same rank in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Reiment, Army United Colonies. During 1776 he was Lieutenat Colonel of Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army. May 8, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel John Robinson's Regiment organized for the defense of Boston Harbor. February 27, 1778, he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, Colonel of the Regiment raised for service in Rhode Island, lately commanded by Colonel John Robinson. May 15, 1779, he entered service as Colonel of a Regiment of Light Infantry, and served at Rhode Island until November 19th of that year. July 9th, 1780, he was appointed Colonel of a Regiment raised in Plymouth County to reinforce the Continental Army for three months, and served until November 3, 1780. He died February 7, 1817, aged 82 years.

ADJUTANT LUTHER BAILEY of Hanover was the son of Colonel John and Ruth (Randall) Bailey. He was born in that town September 22, 1752. He served as Corporal in Captain Amos Turner's Company, Colenel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. He was appointed Adjutant of General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, In May, 1775, and continued to hold that rank through the year, in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Regiment, Army United Colonies. In 1776 he was Quartermaster of his father's Regiment, the 23rd in the Continental Army. July 1, 1777, he was commissioned First Lieutenant and Adjutant in Colonel John Bailey's Second Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and was promoted Captain July 7, 1777. He served until the close of the war. He was an able officer, serving with honor at Dorchester Heights in March, 1776, and in New York later. He was in the Battles of Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth, also in the campaign ending in the surrender of Burgoyne. Captain Bailey was accomplished in his manners, and easy and pleasant in conversation and address, and was often called upon to serve as chairman of public meetings in his native town. He was a member of the Cincinnati. He died in Hanover May 12, 1820.

QUARTERMASTER ADAMS BAILEY of Bridgewater was the son of Adams and Sarah (Howard)Bailey. He was born in Scituate, January

27, 1748-9. He served as Quartermaster in General John Thomas's and Colonel John Bailey's Regiment through 1775 and during 1776 was Second Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he was commissioned First Lieutenant and Paymaster in Colonel John Bailey's Second Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and was promoted to the rank of Captain November 1, 1778. He served until November 3, 1783. After the war he lived at Charlestown, Mass., where he was Superintendent of the United States Marine Hospital. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He died July 26, 1824.

SURGEON LEMUEL CUSHING of Hanover was the son of Deacon Joseph and Lydia (King) Cushing. His name appears in a list of officers "not yet commissioned" January 24, 1775, but in another muster roll, made later in the year, the date of his appointment is given as April 19, 1775, showing that he served in one of these regiments, either Colonel Bailey's of General Thomas's, on the Lexington alarm. During 1776 he was Surgeon of Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment in the Continental Army.

SURGEON'S MATE SETH AMES of Dedham held that rank in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, the date of his enlistment being given as September 1, 1775. January 1, 1776, he became Surgeon of Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army.

SURGEON'S MATE GAD. HITCHCOCK of Pembroke was the son of Reverend Gad and Dorothy Hitchcock. He was born in Pembroke, November 2, 1749, and was appointed Surgeon's Mate April 19, 1775, serving through the year under Colonels Thomas and Bailey. In 1776 he was Surgeon of Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment, according to pay rolls made out in October, November and December of that year.

CHAPLAIN ISAAC MANSFIELD, JR., of Marblehead was chaplain in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies in 1775, and he preached a Thanksgiving sermon in a camp at Roxbury on the 23rd of November of that year. During the following year, 1776, he served as Chaplain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, and Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, both of the Massachusetts Line.

CAPTAIN JAMES ALLEN, JR., of Bridgewater, son of James and

Mary (Packard) Allen, was born in Bridgewater in 1835. He served as private in Captain Josiah Dunbar's company from July 9 to December 10, 1761. On the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Nathan Mitchell's Company, and May 1, 1775, he enlisted as Captain in Colonel John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, receiving his commission April 19, 1775. He continued in this rank through the year under Colonel John Bailey. During the latter part of 1776 he served near New York as Captain in Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment. July 30, 1780, he enlisted in Major Eliphet Cary's Regiment and served eleven days at Rhode Island. He died of smallpox in 1789, aged 54 years.

CAPTAIN FREEDOM CHAMBERLAIN of Pembroke, son of Freedom and Mary (Soul) Chamberlain, was born in that town October 21, 1730. He was a private in Captain Ezekiel Turner's Company, Colonel Thomas Clapp's Regiment, which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry in October, 1757. In September, 1771, he was Captain of the First Pembroke Company in Colonel David Stockbridge's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, he commanded a company in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, and May 3, 1775, was engaged at the same rank to command a company in Colonel John Thomas's Regiment. He continued to serve in Colonel John Thomas's Regiment, the Second in the Provincial Army. Later in the year he held the same rank in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Regiment, Army United Colonies. In 1776 he commanded a company in Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment. He died February 3, 1821, aged 90 years, 3 months, 3 days.

CAPTAIN JOHN CLAPP of Scituate, son of John and Mercy Clapp, was born in that town, July 5, 1734. From April 16 to December 8, 1756, he was a Sergeant in Captain John Clapp, Jr.,'s company, Colonel Joseph Dwight's Regiment in an expedition to Crown Point. From April 18 to December 7, 1761, he was Lieutenant in Captain Lemuel Dunbar's Company, and he held the same rank in that company from March 4 to December 5, 1762. He commanded a company of Minute Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, serving fifteen days. He lived at Scituate, near the Second Herring Brook, and died in that town February 13, 1810.

CAPTAIN ELIJAH CROOKER of Pembroke was a Sergeant in the Colonel's Company, in Colonel Joseph Thatcher's Regiment, October 11, 1756, and was wounded at Albany. April 20, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Thomas's Regiment, and served through the year under Colonels Thomas and Bailey. In 1776 he was Captain of a company in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army. He died in New York in August of that year.

CAPTAIN ELEAZER HAMLIN of Pembroke was the son of Benjamin and Anne (Mayo) Hamlin, and was born about July, 1732. He was probably born in that part of Eastham known as Wellfleet. He settled in Pembroke and was baptized in the Second Church there February 6, 1762. He was grantee in fifteen deeds of land about there between 1757 and 1774. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain James Hatch's Company, which marched from Pembroke on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and in a company return, made probably in October, 1775, his name appears as Captain in General John Thomas's (Colonel Bailey's) Regiment. January 1, 1776, he became Captain in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army. He removed to the town of Harvard about April, 1776. He was a member of the Committee of Safety in 1779, and delegate at Concord in October of that year. He served as delegate to the Convention at Lunenburg, May 19, 1785. Later he received a grant of land in the Maine district known as "Hamlin's Grant". This proved to be worthless, and his sons received a grant in what is now Waterford, Me. He was grandfather of Reverend Doctor Cyrus Hamlin. He died December 1, 1807, aged 75 years, 5 months.

CAPTAIN JOSIAH HAYDEN of Bridgewater was the son of Benjamin Hayden of Braintree, removing to Northbridge in his youth. He was a private in Captain Samuel Thaxter's Hingham Company from September 15 to December 17, 1755, in an expedition to Crown Point. On the Lexington Alarm April 19, 1775, he commanded a Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment. May 1st of that year he was engaged as Captain of a Company in General John Thomas' Second Regiment Provincial Army. He served to October 1, 1775, under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey, and on the latter date was reported sick and absent. In the History of Bridgewater it is stated that he was a Major

in the Revolutionary Army. He removed to Winslow, Me., and died there in 1814, aged 84 years.

CAPTAIN DANIEL LOTHROP of Bridgewater was the son of Samuel and Abial (Lassell) Lothrop. He was born May 2, 1721. He was Captain of a Company of Artillery in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment from April 10, 1775, to the 2nd of May following. On May 3rd he was engaged to serve in the same rank in Colonel John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, and later in the year served as Captain in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies. May, 1776, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Thomas Crafts's Artillery Regiment, serving through May 7, 1777. He died in Leeds, Me., March 18, 1818.

CAPTAIN ROBERT ORR of Bridgewater, son of the Honorable Hugh Orr, was born in 1745. He was a centinel in Captain William Lithgow's Company from March 17 to July 4, 1757, the Company serving at Fort Halifax. April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men on the Lexington Alarm. It is stated in a memorandum that Captain Orr with his two lieutenants joined Colonel Bailey's Regiment December 10, 1775, at Roxbury Camp, and served in said Regiment until January 15, 1776. From July 30 to October 9, 1780, he was Adjutant of Major Eliphelet Cary's Regiment at Rhode Island and Major of Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant Enoch Putnam's Regiment from October 1 to November 14, 1781; the Regiment raised to reinforce the Continental Army for three months and stationed at West Point.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM REED of Abington served as a private in Captain Ezekial Turner's Company, Colonel Thomas Clapp's Regiment, which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry in August, 1757. He served as Captain of a company in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, and April 27, 1775, he was engaged as Captain of a company in Colonel John Thomas's Second Provincial Army Regiment. He served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL STOCKBRIDGE of Scituate was the son of Samuel and Lydia (Barrell) Stockbridge. He was born about 1711. In 1757 he served as Cornet in Captain Benjamin Turner's troop of horse,

which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry. April 19, 1775, he commanded a company of Minute Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment and May 19, 1775, was commissioned Captain in Colonel John Thomas's Second Provincial Army Regiment. He served through the year under these officers. He died June 25th, 1784, aged 73 years, 1 month, 1 day.

CAPTAIN AMOS TURNER of Hanover was the son of Ezekiel and Ruth (Randall) Turner. He was born July 16, 1741. He commanded a company of Minute Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 3, 1775, he was engaged as Captain of General John Thomas's Second Provincial Army Regiment, and served through the year under these officers. May 10, 1776, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel John Cushing, Junior's Second Plymouth County Regiment, and later in the year marched to Rhode Island in a brigade commanded by Colonel John Cushing, Jr. In 1777 he served for two months and six days as Captain in Jonathan Titcomb's Regiment in the Rhode Island service from July 10 to October 30, 1780. He was a Captain in Colonel John Jacobs' Regiment which was raised in Plymouth County to reinforce the Continental Army. In 1775 he served as selectman in the town of Hanover. He died May 14, 1822, aged 81 years.

CAPTAN NATHANIEL WINSLOW of Scituate was born about 1741. As a resident of Dighton, he served as Ensign in Captain Abel Keene's Company from March 4 to November 18, 1762. He was Lieutenant in Captain John Clapp's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 3, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. In the early part of 1776 he served as Captain in Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment, and from April 10, 1776, to November, 1776, was Captain in Colonel Josiah Whiting's Regiment. November 1, 1777, he was commissioned Major, having served as Captain in that command during 1777 up to that time, in Colonel Thomas Marshall's 10th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and served until December, 1780. In Heitman's "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army," it is stated that he resigned October 6, 1780, but in the records

of the Archives of Massachusetts, he is reported as retired January 1, 1781, on half pay.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JACOB ALLEN of Bridgewater was the son of Jacob and Abigail (Kingman) Allen. He was born about 1739 and was a centinal in Captain Simeon Cary's Company, Colonel Thomas Doty's Regiment from April 23rd to September 29, 1758. May 29, 1759, at the age of twenty-one years he enlisted in Colonel Thomas Clapp's Regiment. From March 29 to December 17, 1760, he was a private in Captain Lemuel Dunbar's Company, Colonel John Thomas's Regiment, on duty at Halifax. April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain Robert Orr's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, serving eleven days. He enlisted as Lieutenant in Captain James Allen's Company, General John Thomas's Second Provincial Army Regiment, and later in the year served under Colonel John Bailey. During 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel John Bailey's Second Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and on September 19, 1777, was killed at the Battle of Bemis Heights.

FIRST LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN BASS of Hanover was the son of Reverend Benjamin and Mary (Gardner) Bass. April 19, 1775, he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Amos Turner's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, serving fourteen days. He was a deacon of the church for many years. He served as Representative to the General Court in 1783, 95, 96-8, 1800-1, 05, 06. He was town clerk from 1798 to 1807, and selectman in 1783-5.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SAMUEL BROWN of Abington held that rank in Captain William Reed's Company of Minute-Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. He served eight days. He enlisted May 27, 1775, in General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, and served under these officers through the year. He was taken prisoner at Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ZACHARIAH GURNEY of Bridgewater was the son of Zachariah and Sarah Gurney, and was born in 1729. He was

a private in Captain William Clark's Company from September 15 to December 16, 1755, in an expedition to Crown Point. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain Josiah Hayden's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm April 19, 1775, serving twelve days. May 1, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in General Thomas's Second Regiment Provincial Army and served under this commander and Colonel Bailey through the year. July 5, 1776, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain Jacob Pool's Company, Colonel John Jacobs's Plymouth County Regiment, and served until his discharge, October 31, 1780. He died in 1813, aged 84 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EPHRAIM JACKSON of Bridgewater was the son of Ephraim and Lydia (Leach) Jackson. April 10, 1758, he enlisted in Captain Samuel Cary's Company, Colonel Thomas Doty's Regiment, serving until May 30, 1758, and probably longer. From April 10th to May 2, 1775, he was First Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Lothrop's Artillery Company, Colonel John Bailey and General John Thomas's Regiments. May 3, 1775, he was engaged to serve under the same company commanders, and served through the year in General Thomas's and Colonel Bailey's Regiments. April 10, 1776, he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Josiah Whitneys Regiment, raised for the defence of Boston. He served in that command until November, 1776, and on the 19th of that month was chosen by a ballot of the House of Representatives, Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Thomas Marshall's 10th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He died December 19, 1777, and half pay was allowed to his family to December 19, 1784.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSHUA JACOBS of Scituate was the son of Joshua Jacobs. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain John Clapp's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 3, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Winslow's Company, General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. In 1776 he served as Captain in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT KING LAPHAM of Marshfield (also given Pembroke) was the son of David Lapham. He was born in Marsh-

field in 1743. He was one of thirteen children, seven of whom were in the Revolutionary Army. From May 6th to November 17, 1761, he was a private in Captain Abel Keen's Company, residing at that time in Scituate. He was a private in Captain Silas Brown's Company from November 16, 1761, to July 19, 1762, residence Marshfield. April 20, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Elijah Crooker's Company, General John Thomas's Regiment. He served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. May 10th, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Clift's 10th Marshfield Company in the Second Plymouth County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia. July 21, 1776, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain John Turner's Company, Colonel John Cushing's Second Plymouth County Regiment. He marched to Rhode Island under the same commander in the latter part of 1776. From April to June, 1777, he was Lieutenant in Captain Amos Turner's Company, Colonel Joshua Titcomb's Regiment, and marched to Tiverton, R. I. September 28, 1777, he marched as Lieutenant in Captain John Turner's Company, Colonel Theophilus Cotton's First Plymouth County Regiment. From a document dated April 20, 1779, we know that he was at that time a member of Captain James Harlow's Company, Colonel Ezra Wood's Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ELISHA MITCHELL of Bridgewater was the son of Colonel Edward and Elizabeth (Cushing) Mitchell. He was born in 1746, and on the Lexington alarm on April 19, 1775, marched as First Lieutenant of Captain Robert Orr's Company of Minute-Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment. In April, 1776, he was a Captain in Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment. He died in 1790, aged 44 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ATWOOD MOTT of Scituate was the son of Ebenezer and Deborah Mott. He was born September 18, 1736. He was a Corporal in Captain Samuel Stockbridge's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving twenty-one days. May 10, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant under the same Captain in General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT NATHAN PACKARD of Bridgewater was the son of Zachariah and Abigail (Davenport) Packard. He was born in 1733. He was in the Camp at Lake George, November 21, 1755, in Captain House's Company, Colonel Seth Pomeroy's Regiment. A note in the records says that he "came from Bridgewater" and was among those "not like to be of service this Winter". He was First Lieutenant in Cautain Josiah Hayden's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. March 14, 1776, he was Captain of a Company in Colonel Edward Mitchell's Third Plymouth County Regiment. He was probably the man of that name who served as a Lieutenant in Captain Calvin Partridge's Company, Colonel John Cushing's Regiment, being drafted September 18, 1776, and serving two months and two days in Rhode Island. He was Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Keith's Company, Colonel Theophilus Cotton's First Plymouth County Regiment from September 25 to October 30, 1777, on the secret expedition to Tiverton, R. I. From May 25 to September 9, 1778, he served as Captain in Colonel Thomas Carpenter's First Bristol County Regiment, and September 10, 1779, was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Jacobs's Light Infantry Regiment, serving over two months at Rhode Island. He died in 1798, aged 65 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT HAYWARD PEIRCE, son of Benjamin, Jr., and Jane Peirce, was born in Scituate, June 22, 1753. He held this rank in Captain Samuel Stockbridge's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, April 19, 1775. May 10, 1776, he was commissioned Captain of the 6th (Scituate) Company in Colonel John Cushing's 2nd Plymouth County Regiment. December 10, 1776, he marched as Captain in Colonel Jeremiah Hall's Regiment for service in Rhode Island and served three months and two days. In September, 1777, he was Captain of a Company in Colonel Theophilus Cotton's First Plymouth County Regiment for service in Rhode Island. "Hayward Peirce, Eq.," died in Scituate, October 18, 1826, aged 73 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT AMOS SHAW of Abington was a Sergeant in Captain Edward Cobb's Company of Militia, Colonel Edward Mitchell's Regiment which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. May 19, 1775, he was commissioned Lieutenant in Captain Eleazer Hamlin's

Company General John Thomas's Regiment, and served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey.

FIRST LIEUTENANT PRINCE STETSON of Hanover was the son of Abijah and Deborah (Turner) Stetson. He was born in that town in August, 1741. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain Amos Turner's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment. May 3, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant under the same company commander in General John Thomas's Second Regiment Provincial Army. He served probably through the year, under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. He was a First Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's Continental Army in 1776. June 27, 1777, he was commissioned Captain of a matross company stationed at Hanover. He later moved to Freeport, Me.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN TURNER, JUNIOR, of Pembroke, son of Judge and Mary Turner, was born August 8, 1741. He was Lieutenant in Captain Freedom Chamberlain's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 3, 1775, he was engaged in the same rank in General John Thomas's 2nd Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. In a company return dated October 6, 1775, he was called "First Lieutenant". May 10, 1776, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel John Cushing's Second Plymouth County Regiment. He served in that rank in this regiment in the Rhode Island service in September and December of that year. September 28, 1777, he marched as Captain in Colonel Theophilus Cotton's First Plymouth County Regiment. From November 6, 1777, to April 3, 1778, he was Captain in Colonel Eleazor Brooks's Regiment of Guards, and from July 10 to October 30, 1780, was Captain in Colonel John Jacob's Regiment in the Rhode Island service. In the History of the "Descendants of Humphrey Turner", it is said of Captain John Turner that he "was distinguished as a man of ability, good sense and discriminating judgment, and succeeded to a good share of the influence and usefulness possessed by his father." He was selectman or assessor thirty-five years, representative in the Legislature twenty years, and town clerk twenty-eight years. He was a member of the First and Second Provincial Congresses and a member of the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts. He was a Justice of the Peace.

"He was decidedly a practical man, affable and liberal, benevolent and arduous in his endeavors to promote moral and social enterprises, and was considered in a metaphorical sense the father of the town." He died December 22, 1890, aged 79 years."

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOSHUA BARSTOW (given erroneously as "John Barlow" in one list) of Hanover was the son of Joshua and Elizabeth (Foster) Barstow. He was born June 27 (T. R.) July 7 (Fam. R.) 1749. He was a Sergeant in Captain Amos Turner's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, serving fourteen days. May 3, 1775, he enlisted as Ensign in the same Captain's Company, General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army. In a return dated October, 1775, he was called Second Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Regiment, Army United Colonies. In a list of officers of the Massachusetts Militia, year not given (probably 1776) he was called First Lieutenant in the Artillery Company of the 2nd Plymouth County Regiment. He conducted Barstow's Forge in Hanover, until he removed to Exeter, N. H., about 1795. He lived in the latter town until December 22, 1821, when he died at the age of 73 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT SETH BATES of Hanover was the son of Clement and Anne (Neal) Bates. He was born in October, 1735. He held the above rank in Captain Amos Turner's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, and served fourteen days. In the History of Hanover he was called "Colonel Seth Bates". The statement is made that "he was an officer in the Revolutionary War, and had the reputation of being brave and efficient. He built a house on Central Street, later occupied by Enos Bates."

SECOND LIEUTENANT DAVID COBB of Abington was a private in Captain Lemuel Dunber's Company, serving from April 6 to November 1, 1759. He was twenty-four years old at this time, as a record for service the year previous in Canada showed his age twenty-three years. He was a Sergeant in Captain William Reed's Company of Minute-Men in Colonel John Bailey's Regiment which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, serving eight days. He was an Ensign in General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, and later Second Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 35th Regiment, Army United Colonies, serving through

the year. He was a Lieutenant serving as volunteer in Colonel Edward Mitchell's Third Plymouth County Regiment, in March, 1776. Later in the year he served in the same regiment on a Rhode Island alarm.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ROBERT DAWES of Bridgewater was the son of Robert and Lydia (Harden) Dawes. He was born in 1747. He held that rank in Captain Robert Orr's Company of Minute-Men, which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. He joined Colonel Bailey's Regiment, December 10, 1775. In August, 1776, his name appears on the pay roll in Captain James Allen's Company, Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment. He removed to Cummington from Bridgewater.

SECOND LIEUTENANT SOLOMON SHAW of Abington was given that rank in a list of officers in Captain William Reed's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 19, 1775, he was commissioned Ensign in Captain William Reed's Company, Colonel John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army.

ENSIGN NATHANIEL CHITTENDEN of Scituate was the son of Nathaniel and Desire (Otis) Chittenden. He was born in that town December 4, 1751. He served as a Sergeant in Captain John Clapp's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. May 3rd of that year he enlisted as Ensign in Captain Nathaniel Winslow's Company, General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey.

ENSIGN JOSEPH COLE, JUNIOR, of Bridgewater was the son of Joseph and Mary (Stephens) Cole. He was born in Plympton in 1734. From September 11 to December 27, 1755, he was Corporal in Captain Joseph Washburn's Company on the Expedition to Crown Point. From April 22nd to December 2, 1756, he was Sergeant in Captain John Clapp, Junior's Company. April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain Josiah Hayden's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm. May 19, 1775, he was commissioned Ensign under the same Captain, and held that rank through the year in

General Thomas's and Colonel Bailey's Regiments. February 21, 1778, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Elisha Mitchell's Company, Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment. His name appears on the pay roll July 6, 1777, as Captain in Colonel Robinson's Regiment for service in Rhode Island. From January 1, 1778, to the end of his term of enlistment, January 1, 1775, he was a Captain in Colonel John Jacobs's Light Infantry Regiment.

ENSIGN PICKLES CUSHING of Scituate, son of Joseph and Lydia (King) Cushing, was born in that town in 1743. He marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, as Ensign in Captain Samuel Stockbridge's Company of Minute-Men, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, and served twenty-one days. He was probably the man of that name who served as private for seven days in February, 1776, in Captain Nathaniel Winslow's Company, Colonel Simeon Cary's Regiment; and eleven days in December, 1776, on a Rhode Island alarm in Captain Francis Cushing's Company, Colonel John Cushing's Plymouth County Regiment.

ENSIGN ABNER HAYWARD (also called Howard) of Bridgewater was the son of Abner and Mary (Alger) Hayward. From April 10th to May 2, 1775, he was Sergeant in Captain Daniel Lothrop's Artillery Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment. May 3, 1775, he enlisted as Ensign in Captain Daniel Lothrop's Company, General Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 23d Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became First Lieutenant in Captain Ephraim Burr's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, Masssachusetts Line, and served nine months and nineteen days as Lieutenant, following which he served as Captain in this Regiment until December 31, 1780.

ENSIGN JOHN LEAVITT of Pembroke, son of John Leavitt, was born March 13, 1751. He was Ensign in Captain Freedom Chamberlain's Company, Colonel John Bailey's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and served fourteen days. May 3, 1775, he was engaged as Ensign under the same Captain in General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army. During 1776, he served as Second Lieutenant in Colonel John Bailey's 23rd Regiment, Continental Army. June 10, 1778, he was

engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Nathan Roll's Company, Colonel John Jacobs's Light Infantry Regiment and served six months and twenty-three days. From July 10th to October 30, 1780, he was Lieutenant in Captain John Turner's Company, Colonel John Jacobs's Regiment, for service in Rhode Island.

ENSIGN CALEB NICHOLS of Scituate served as a private in Captain William Turner's Scituate Company of Militia, Colonel Anthony Thomas's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. We know that he served as Ensign in Captain Samuel Stockbridge's Company, General John Thomas's Regiment, and later through the year in Colonel Bailey's Regiment, for an order for a bounty coat, dated January 17, 1776, is preserved in the Archives.

ENSIGN INCREASE ROBINSON, JUNIOR, of Pembroke, was the son of Increase Robinson. He served on an expedition to Canada in 1758, and from March 30th to November 1, 1759, was a private in Captain Abel Keen's Company, Colonel Thomas Clapp's Regiment. From January 1st to June 7, 1760, he served under the same Captain in Colonel Thwing's Regiment at Nova Scotia. He was a Sergeant in Captain Eleazer Hamlin's Company, General John Thomas's Regiment. June 1, 1775, he was engaged as Ensign in the same company and regiment, and served through the year under General Thomas and Colonel Bailey. May 10, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain James Hatch's Company, Colonel John Thomas's Second Plymouth County Regiment. September 21, 1776, he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Stetson's Company, Colonel Nicholas Dike's Regiment, and served until the latter part of the year.

ENSIGN JACOB (also called ISRAEL) ROGERS of Marshfield held that rank in Captain Elijah Crooker's Company, General John Thomas's Regiment. He was engaged April 20, 1775, and served through the year.

ENSIGN PEREZ WARREN was commissioned in that rank May 19, 1775, to serve in Captain James Allen's Company, General John Thomas's Second Regiment, Provincial Army.

This is the fourteenth instalment of a series of articles on Massachusetts Pioneers to other states, to be published by The Massachusetts Magazine.]

MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS. MICHIGAN SERIES.

By Charles A. Flagg

Besides the abbreviations of book titles, (explained on pages 76, 77, 78 and 79 of April, and page 186 of July, 1908 issues) the following are used: b. for born; d. for died; m. for married; set. for settled in.

Underwood, E. E., of Otis; b. 1806; set. N. Y., 1814, Mich., 1832. Jackson Hist., 933.

——Edmund, b. 1803; set. O., 1835? Mich., 1870? Clinton Port., 525.

—— Samuel, set. N. Y., 1814; Mich., 1832. Jackson Hist., 933.

Upham, Joshua C., set. Vt., O., 1836. Kalamazoo Port., 221.

Upton, Elias, b. Heath, 1790? 1812 soldier; set. Mich., 1856 or 1857. Clinton Past, 421, 486; Clinton Port., 869.

—— Frank W., b. Charlemont, 1849; set. Mich., 1856. Clinton Past, 420.

—— Hart L., b. Heath, 1827; set. N. Y., Mich., 1856. Clinton Port., 869.

——Henry, set. Mich., 1829. Newaygo, 252.

—— James, b. Heath, 1821; set. N. H., Mich. Shiawassee, 518.

—— James, set. Mich., 1850? Clinton Past, 486.

——Josiah, b. Heath, 1824; set. Mich., 1856. Clinton Past, 420, 421.

—— Mary, m. 1st, 1800? Richard Floyd of Vt.; m. 2d, Joseph Fuller, of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 529.

—— Sarah, b. Charlemont, 1819; m. 1846 Justin W. Beckwith of Mass. and Mich. Clinton Port., 820.

Ure, Margaret E., m. 1854 Francis L. O. Banks of Mich. Midland, 241.

Vader, Eliza, m. 1820? Jefferson Louden of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 993.

Valentine, Augusta M. of Cambridgeport; m. 1848 Ezra T. Nelson of Mich. Grand Rapids Lowell, 464; Kent, 1089.

Van Dusen, S. A., b. Berkshire Co., 1838; set. N. Y., Mich., 1861. Bay Hist., 151.

Vansickle, John W., b. Hunterdon? 1787; set. Mich. 1831. Washtenaw Hist., 630.

Vaughan, David C., b. New Salem; set. N. Y., 1825. Jackson Port., 265.

——Sewell S., b. Franklin Co., 1820; set. N. Y., 1825, Mich., 1836. Jackson Hist., 744; Jackson Port., 266.

Vhay, John, b. New Bedford, 1848; set Mich. Wayne Land., appendix, 279.

Vilas, Aaron, b. Worcester Co., 1770; set. Vt., Canada. Genesee Port., 812.

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(To be continued)

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

The original manuscript of "America" ("My County, 'Tis of Thee") written by Rev. Samuel Francis Smith, has been presented to Harvard College Library by the surviving children of Dr. Smith. In a happily phrased acknowledgment Librarian Lane referred to it as "one of the most precious bits of original manuscripts which any American library could desire to own."

Ex-Governor John D. Long is to have a new edition of his poems out before Christmas, in modest booklet form. It will be largely a reprint of the edition which appeared ten years ago, and will be entitled "At the Fireside." I saw, recently, one of these poems included in the "Heart Throbs" collection, published by a popular magazine.

The *Literary Digest* wrote to 367 editors of American newspapers and asked their sentiment on the European war. Twenty favored the Germans, 105 favored the Allies, 242 declared themselves neutral. Proceeding to an anlysis of the geographical distribution of the "returns," it was found that the central states sent in the most votes for Germany, only one Eastern state favoring. The *Literary Digest* concludes that the "marked leaning of New England towards the Allies is possibly due to the lineage of a majority of its inhabitants."

Writing for a California newspaper, John D. Barry has recently said: "For many years I passed the wide spaces of Boston Common without thinking much about them, enjoying the openness and the greenness, and the expanse of the sky(but never realizing the marvel of it all, the spirit behind, reaching back to a civic consciousness wise and far-seeing, and related to the ideal commonwealth that we are working towards and that some people are still so foolish as to consider impossible . . . and "the

best thing that can be said about Boston Common is that it is used, and extensively used, at all times of the waking day."

The Parker Historic and Genealogical Society met in Wakefield on October 10th, and held their annual reunion in the Congregational Church, some 30 members from different parts of the state being in attendance. An address on "The Parkers of Reading" was given by Theodore Parker of Worcester, and the following officers elected: Dr. Moses Greeley Parker of Lowell, president; Charles Wallingford Parker of Boston, Herbert Parker of Lancaster, Willard S. Morse of New York, and Walter L. Parker of Lowell, vice-presidents; Frederick Wesley Parker, treasurer; Capt. John Lord Parker, Lynn, registrar and historian; Theodore Parker, Worcester, correspondent secretary; Robert Dickson West, secretary for English research.

During the past year Boston's famous old Athenaeum library, on Beacon street, has been entirely rebuilt on the inside with fire-proof materials, and has had two new stories built on top. The work has been done while the library force and part of the books remained in the building, two-thirds of the collection of books being stored in the new vaults of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, while the work was in progress. The architects accomplished the task of replacing the old wooden finish of the interior in cement and steel, exactly as it was before. This removes from fire hazard one more of the priceless collections of books and manuscripts housed in Boston's libraries. In the two new stories on top has been built a beautiful new reading room.

Up on Beacon Hill by the State House there is bustle and activity. Derricks and engines of various kinds are dipping and swinging and heaving; some men are digging and other men are supervising and still others are loitering idly near looking on. But if you should leave these scenes of the work-a-day world and turn off down Ashburton place and climb three flights of quiet stairs you would find yourself far, far away from all sight and all thought of today and tomorrow, for you will be in the land of yesterday. Books are ranged around this pleasant, gravely-lighted room; there are tables where silent readers are sitting; there is a librarian in an atmosphere of peace instead of the usual one of pertubation. You are in the rooms of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, sur-

rounded by the achives of the past. There is an old man turning the leaves of a book wistfully; he seems to be seeking less the record of his ancestors than a place for himself in that long catalogue. Here are two young girls—school girls, perhaps—leaning over a great tome together. What are they hunting for? How curious those bright heads look so close to that symbol of mortality; how strange the fresh faces seriously scanning the records of the past.

In the visitors' book one reads names of persons from Japan, India and the Hawaiian Islands; they came from all the world seeking information in this room.

There is a decorous atmosphere to the place; almost a cheerful solemnity; we feel not a sadness, but a proper respect for our ancestors as we stand here. The stories which might once have been told by each of those men and women whose connection with this earth is now only the letters of a name would be no less interesting than those which might be told by their living representatives who come here. Indeed many a strange or romantic episode is confided to the librarian who is there to listen; but he locks them in his confidence and no one knows.

It is an interesting institution—this library of the past. Outside the stir of life is in the air; shoppers hurry down Beacon street to Washington; state officials hurry up toward their place of business. But in this untroubled room there is no hurry; the hurrying is done; only the record is left for us to turn to in those rare half hours when we fall to musing.—*Agnes Edwards in Boston Herald.*

To the trained men of the professions and sciences the ways of newspaper writers are frequently a sore trial.

The newspaper man is always looking for strong, bold statements with which to color and enliven his articles. He not only uses legitimate hyperbole to excess, but sees little harm in slight variation from the facts if he can thereby make out a "good story." While these "slight" variations often make little or no difference to the general public, they usually place the trained expert they are quoting in a ridiculous light before his compeers.

One of the most aggravating misquotations of this kind of which we have recently heard fell to the lot of Mr. George Ernest Bowman, editor of the *Mayflower Descendant.* A news article was published in the *Boston Post,* announcing that a great find had been made by the Society of

Mayflower Descendants; that a genuine signature of one of the passengers had been discovered; and that this was the first and only one ever found.

A Plymouth paper immediately criticized Mr. Bowman, insinuating that he was not familiar with Plymouth records.

The *Sunday Post* then, without giving Mr. Bowman an opportunity to reply, printed another article which made the case appear still worse.

Two days later, another paper took the matter up, and this time stated that the Plymouth people challenged the authenticity of the signature.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Bowman did not claim to have found the only Mayflower autograph, and reference to the Plymouth paper and to the *Sunday Post* show that the Plymouth people did not challenge the authenticity of the autograph. They merely challenged the supposed claim that he had found the *only* Mayflower autograph.

In the past sixteen years Mr. Bowman has shown in "The Mayflower Descendant" more than seventeen autographs representing twelve different passengers of the Mayflower, in half tone illustrations, and the headings of two of his articles emphasize the fact that this Society now owns *two* Mayflower autographs.

This tribute to Gamaliel Bradford is paid by the *Boston Beacon:* "For some years past, Gamaliel Bradford has been studying American personalities, and especially the personalities of men devoted to the cause of the south prior to, during and following the Civil War. A northerner himself, of an ancestry diametrically opposed in all its sympathies and prejudices to the southern points of view both with regard to slavery and to state's rights, Mr. Bradford has nevertheless been able to investigate and write about southern leaders in a most dispassionate way, and he is now accepted as an authority upon the subject. His life of General Lee has become a classic of American biographical literature."

Mr. Bradford has a biographical essay in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October upon General George B. McClellan.

Tufts College is one of the younger institutions of learning of the Eastern states, having been established in 1855 and the faculty is therefore much pleased this year over the entrance of a freshman who is the first of the college's third generation to appear. The student is Philip Bullard Lewis of Somerville, who was born in 1895. Both his father and his grandfather were graduates of Tufts. His grandfather graduated with

the first class to receive degrees, in 1863, at the time when Tufts was a Universalist sectarian school, for which the founder, Charles Tufts, intended it. His father, Prof. Leo R. Lewis, graduated in the class of 1887, and became instructor in languages and music at the college.

The monument recently erected to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in Cambridge recalls that this most popular of all American poets received some years ago the honor of a bust in the "poets' corner" in Westminster Abbey, but this is the first monument to his memory at the hands of his fellow countrymen. Honors of this kind are usually to heroes of war, statesmen and pioneers. We recall but one other monument to a poet in this country — the statue of William Cullen Bryant, in New York, on Broadway; and this is probably more in memory of his service as editor of a great newspaper, than to his genius as a poet.

A movement was started a number of years ago to erect a suitable memorial to Poe, in Baltimore, and the Edgar Allen Poe Memorial Association was formed for the purpose of collecting funds to erect such a memorial. In August, 1911, Sir Moses Ezekiel, the Virginia sculptor, was commissioned to make the statue, which will be completed during the first of the coming year. It is to be a bronze figure of Poe in heroic size, seated in the attitude of listening, and will be mounted on a stone base. The site for it has not yet been selected. Poe was born in Boston.

The great work done by horticulturists never receives the reward of fame it deserves. Once in a lifetime there arises such a man as Luther Burbank, who by the force of a strong individuality as well as the merit of his work, rises easily to celebrity, but he is an exception. Who, for instance, can tell the name of the originator of the Concord grape or the Baldwin apple or the Bartlett pear, or who that has not made a special study of horticulture can tell what the names of Marshall P. Wilder, Edward S. Rogers and Jacob Moore stand for. The horitculturist as a rule must be content with his achievements and with a knowledge of the great service he has done the world, for his name will be remembered and honored only by a few specialists.

A few days ago there died at his home in Norwood, Mass., one of the leaders in modern horticultural experiments and developments says the *American Agriculturist*. His name was Nelson Bonney White, and he

lived to be ninety years old. His specialty in horticulture was grape culture, and for more than half a century he had studied and labored in the origination of new and valuable varities. In his little garden at Norwood, as did Rogers in Salem more than fifty years ago, Mr. White proved what can be done by an intelligent mind and a skilful hand, and it is not rash to prophesy that even although his name will appear only in nursery catalogues and perhaps in an out-of-the-way corner of a biographical dictionary, the varieties of grapes he propagated will become as famous as the Concord and the Niagara, the Delaware and the Moore's Early.

The "King Philip" is perhaps the best and best known of Mr. White's discoveries. Other productions of his are the "Early Bird," the "August Giant," the "Amber Queen," the "Norwood" and the "Giant Cluster."

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Prepared by Charles A. Flagg

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A CENTURY OF PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

The Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, and ratified at Washington February 17, 1815, thus closing the "War of 1812" between this country and England, was negotiated by Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, James A. Bayard and Jonathan Russell.

As both Adams and Russell were Massachusetts citizens, this State had a large share in the making of this remarkable treaty, and we have invited three* of the first citizens of the Commonwealth to contribute a sentiment appropriate to the anniversary:

EX-GOVERNOR JOHN D. LONG.

Hardly anything in our history is more significant and impressive than the hundred years of peace between this country and Great Britain—especially that feature of it which is seen on the border line between the United States and Canada—extending thousands of miles without a fortification or an armed soldier upon it—happy, peaceful abode of an

*Ex-Governor Curtis Guild wrote: "You have doubtless noticed from the newspapers that I have been confined to my bed for nearly three weeks with a very serious illness, the result of a complete break-down from trying to oblige too many who wish me in the general public interest to do extra outside work. It is now, of course, too late for me to prepare the article you desire. I can only express my regrets that illness and illness alone, prevented my undertaking the task."

industrial population with nothing to suggest that its citizens are of one nation on one side of the unmarked line and of another on the other. What a tribute it is not only to the two great empires represented but to the advancing civilization and sane development of international relations during the century just closing! The Treaty of Ghent settled almost none of the questions which led to the war of 1812. It ignored most of them. And yet no treaty ever laid more secure the foundations of peace. The Massachusetts Magazine does well to celebrate this centennial anniversary and to pay tribute to John Quincy Adams who was so conspicuous and efficient in the negotiations. Would that the nations now in fierce and bloody battle, begun for no cause except for the expansion of the power that inaugurated it, might follow the example and make of the present gory and desolate fields of Europe an area as peaceful, a neighborhood as happy, a paradise of homes as industrious, as sweet and prosperous as those on which the sun of peace now shines along the whole northern border of our republic!

JOHN D. LONG.

EX-GOVERNOR JOHN Q. A. BRACKETT.

The fact that peace has prevailed for a century between our country and the nation with which it had twice been at war during the forty years preceding the treaty of Ghent, which terminated the second of those wars, is a fact at which all Americans must reoice. Massachusetts has an especial reason for enthusiasm over it when it is remembered that one of her most illustrious sons, John Quincy Adams, was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty which ushered in this grand era of concord. It is accordingly appropriate that the Massachusetts Magazine should take an active part in its commemoration. May our descendants be privileged a hundred years hence likewise to rejoice over another century of peace not only with Great Britian but with all the other nations of the world.

J. Q. A. BRACKETT.

A Century of Peace.

"I cannot close the record of this day without an humble offering of gratitude to God for the conclusion to which it has pleased Him to bring the negotiations for peace at this place, and a fervent prayer that it's result may be propitious to the welfare, the best interests and the Union of my country."—*Diary of John Quincy Adams, Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814.*

On the eve of completing a cycle of one hundred years of peace between Great Britain and this nation, the treaty seals of which were affixed in Washington February 17, 1815, the nation may well intone the prayer entered by John Quincy Adams on that Christmas eve in far off Flanders, following the signing of the articles of agreement of peace affixed a few hours previously by the commissioners of Great Britain and the United States.

We close the record of a century of peace as answer to the petition of our worthy representative uttered when men's thoughts were turned to "Peace on earth, good will toward men." Not only has that peace been of inestimable value and satisfaction to the principals concerned, but the world has been happier and better for it, as is proven by the deplorable but deep contrast now being enacted in the war devastated land where the treaty commissioners sat for four long months.

Rulers, diplomats and nations have followed with amazement the years of continuous peace between two great countries where an imaginary line of three thousand and five hundred miles has been the boundary without either nation erecting a fort, throwing up a barricade, floating a war vessel or placing an armed forced or a single soldier on guard for the maintenance of peace or to protect their national rights. And today the citizens of each government feel a greater sense of security because of that unfortified, unarmed, unmanned boundary, stretching from the Atlantic headlands along its devious way to Cape Flattery and up the Alaskan line to Demarcation Point, than if it bristled with all the modern means of defense and offense of "civilized" Europe.

The war of 1812 had been waging many months; England's offensive actions had been felt twice as long; the Czar of Russia had offered to act as arbitrator, a courtesy which Great Britain declined, when suddenly that nation offered to send commissioners to the Hague to draw up agreements for peace. The scene was shifted to Ghent, where the commissioners sat. The United States sent as its representatives, John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, Jonathan Russell and Henry Clay; while those from Great Britain were, Lord Gambier, Dr. Adams,

and a Mr. Goulburn. This nation was blessed with a commission strongest both numerically and in brain power; for the British were frequently spoken of by outsiders as mere clerks of their government without initiative ability or executive power. Massachusetts furnished a member who had been rocked in the cradle of diplomacy, John Quincy Adams. Mr. Adams was in the diplomatic service of his country at the early age of fourteen and our minister to Russia when called to this commission and immediately after was sent to the Court of St. James. Perhaps no American has ever served in so many diplomatic and national positions as did he who became the sixth president of the United States. The other American commissioners were all strong men.

Trouble had been brewing with England for years, caused by her domineering acts of stopping American vessels on the high seas, impressing sailors to her own service and seizing American goods. In 1806 Mr. Adams introduced a senatorial resolution condemning the British practice of searching ships and demanded the restitution of American property seized by Great Britain, but the administration failed to assert or to enforce our rights.

At the outsight of the peace conference the Britons assumed a lordly air and demanded much—open navigation and access to the Mississippi river; abrogation of the rights of Americans to fish off the Canadian coast: unthinkable boundary lines; all of which demands were eventually dropped. The British commissioners at one time threatened to withdraw and to send the hero of Waterloo to America to head the British army and give the saucy (erstwhile) rebels a trouncing. But Wellington informed the British government its conduct of the war was not such as to support the arrogant claims of her commissioners. Luckily this was before the redcoats entered and burned Washington and peace loving, action-delaying Madison had fled one way, leaving Mistress Dolly to hide the White House silver and flee another.

But, eventually, and suddenly, terms of agreement were reached, a treaty was drawn subject to the unqualified approval of both governments and signed by the commissioners on that memorable Christmas eve. While it has proved by duration to be one of the strongest treaties on earth, it has also proven to be one of the strangest, for on its pages no mention can be found of the vital causes which led to the war it was to bring to a conclusion. Right of search, impressment of Americans, fish-

ery rights, all omitted; and the boundary question to be settled by mutual agreement. Article ten of the treaty carried lines that foretold a momentuous question for the young republic; a question that was not settled for that sturdy power until a half century of peace under that treaty had passed. It read:

"Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object."

But the young nation had again proven its prowess so effectually with the mother country, especially upon the salt and inland seas, that the dignity of her citizens has never again been questioned by England. Four years later a special commission on the fisheries question declared: "The inhabitants of the United States shall have forever, in common with the subjects of his Brittanic Majesty, the liberty of taking any fish of any kind" along practically the entire coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. And while the right to land, repair and secure wood and water "and for no other purpose," within the three mile limit on other shores than those specifically named was acknowledged, the commissioners from this country omitted one little word that has proven to be a fishbone of contention these later years—"bait." Fishing for cod was all that was thought of in 1818.

One event must not be overlooked, that transpired after the commissioners signed the treaty and before it could be ratified and sealed at Washington—before the knowledge of peace conclusions reached these shores at all. Wellington's veterans of the war in Spain had been hurled by Packenham against New Orleans, where Jackson so thoroughly annihilated them the result of the Louisiana purchase was forever clenched to these United States. Had the British seized New Orleans, the 15th of January, 1815, might have marked a date of such success possibly Great Britain would have refused to ratify the treaty and the United States have remained or reversed to an Atlantic seaboard strip.

New Orleans made a glorious wafer seal on the articles of treaty; while it also stamped the death warrant of the Federalists and gave birth to a protective tariff for the young industries of the United States, taking the place of Jefferson's embargo act.

Believing one of the greatest factors in this century of peace with England to be the moral stamnia of the majority of American statesmen, I cannot close without again quoting words of that Massachusetts born son of the nation, when in his diary, while in his first service in the Senate, after watching the methods and minds of partizan party leaders or workers, he wrote:

"I feel strong temptation and have great provocation to plunge into political controversy. But I hope to preserve myself from it by the considerations which have led me to the resolution renouncing it. A politician in this country must be the man of a party. I would fain be the man of my whole country."

Such was Mr. Adams' life and conduct to the end of his country serving career, doing much to build for that century of peace with the motherland, which closes with the seventeenth of next month; only to open again, we all trust, to bless us with cycle after cycle of unbroken peace at home and abroad, that will eventually have the effect of bringing to all nations an eternal cessation from fratricidal strife.

Charles Arthur Higgins, LL. M

MRS. JAMES T. FIELDS

THE PASSING OF THE LAST OF A GROUP OF FAMOUS BOSTONIANS

By Agnes Edwards

There are certain personalities which would be distinguished in any age because of their inherent qualities: there are others which would be significant because of the circumstances which developed them and the environment in which they were placed. Mrs. James T. Fields, whose death marks the passing of the last of a group of famous Bostonians, will hold her place in the history of New England both because she was a charming individual, and because she was part of a very remarkable period in the history of American literature.

We who live in Massachusetts now have almost forgotten how the prestige of this section of the country came to be: we accept the results of that golden age of letters almost as unthinkingly as the Romans accepted their pleasanter lot after the age of Augustus. The fine nerve of appreciation which connects the past with the present has lost its resiliency—a great loss, for to live in the past completely, is to become isolated from living issues: to live in the present completely is to become shallow and meagre in understanding.

As one walks down Charles Street today it seems an ordinary enough thoroughfare: the heavy drays and clanging cars crawl by and send the mud splashing up on the narrow sidewalk, and half way up the flat red brick houses: there are second-hand furniture stores: lodging houses, little eating rooms, small tailoring shops: it is only in the imagination that the Charles Street of sixty years ago still exists--leisurely, charming, dignified—a street of repute and exclusiveness. Here it was that Oliver Wendell Holmes once lived—cheerful, well-groomed, energetic—his trim figure a familiar sight hurrying across the Common, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, unostentatious in the midst of his fame, and half a score of other well-known men and women, making a center of culture that has tinged the whole fabric of New England life. Here it was that Mr. and Mrs.

Fields dispensed a hospitality of such generosity and yet such exquisite simplicity that it will never be forgotten in the annals of Boston.

Number 148 Charles Street stands flush against the sidewalk, English fashion, its plain brick front giving no hint of the deep richness within. Long after the tide of fashion swept away from this section of the city and long after her husband's death, Mrs. Fields stayed on, and her friends found their way to her as of old. Today the door through which Dickens bounded, when "handsome and glowing, famous over half the globe" he came on his first visit to America in 1842, and through which Thackeray's "great burly figure, broad chested and ample as the day" passed and repassed so many times during his visit to this country, is closed. The garden which opened down to the river where Holmes loved to row in the early morning, when, as he wrote "the river and the bay are as smooth as a sheet of beryl-green silk, and I run along ripping it up with my knife edge blade of a boat, the rent closing after me, like those wounds of angels which Milton tells of, but the seams still shining for many a long rood behind"—this garden is now deserted. But in the dim drawing room, mellow with memories, still hang the autographs and portraits—among them an exquisite drawing of Hawthorne by an artist now almost forgotten but once most fondly esteemed—Rowse—, still stand the books, and still lingers that "scholarly and gentle atmosphere" which made that house what Henry James has called "the little ark of the modern deluge." The house remains, but the spirit which animated it is gone, and with its going Charles Street and Boston have closed one of the happiest chapters in their history.

Mr. Fields, being a publisher of high repute came in contact with the most eminent literary men of his generation: being a gentleman of attractive personality and gifted with the keenest sense of appreciation, his business acquaintances became his friends. Thus it was that the pleasant house with its shaded lawn and ample rooms became the natural rendezvous of the choicest spirits of that time, and never before or since has there been such an assembling of choice spirits in New England. Longfellow, beautiful and calm, Celia Thaxter "with the sea shells she always wore about her neck and wrists, and a gray poplin dress defining her lovely form," Hawthorne, that noble and melancholy figure who used to pace back and forth on nights when he could not sleep, Emerson who says he was glad that his lot was "cast in the time and proximity of excellent persons," Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, whom Mrs. Fields describes as "beau-

MRS. JAMES T. FIELD, SOON AFTER HER MARRIAGE

tiful, with heightened color, her eyes shining and awake but filled with great softness, her abundant curling hair rippling naturally about her head and falling a little at the sides,"—of all that brilliant company we have many souvenirs both in their memoirs and diaries and in those of Mrs. Fields. Of another still wider and even more illustrious company we have another kind of memento. Mr. Fields was a book collector, and on a certain shelf in the well-used library stands a priceless line of volumes. Here is a copy of Milton, printed in 1673 which Thomas Gray owned as a school-boy and which bears his signature no less than nine times upon the title page: a "Rasselas" of Dr. Johnson which contains an autograph letter of his: Byron's own copy of "Don Juan," a "Rape of the Lock" which once belonged to Charles Lamb, who has restored in his own handwriting several of the pages which were missing, and over a hundred volumes from Leigh Hunt's library in England with his vehement annotations. Here, too, is a North's "Plutarch" which Shakespeare himself might have read, and from which he is believed to have drawn his material for "Julius Caesar," an 1757 edition of Burn's poem with an autograph poem by Allen Ramsey on the first page. There are autograph letters from Browning, Scott, Tennyson, Dr. Brown of Edinborough,—one from Thackery to Mr. Fields with a neat little caricature of the publisher by Thackery's own inimitable pen, and an autograph letter of Gray, which was given Mrs. Fields by "Barry Cornwall."

One reads in Mrs. Fields' account that "many strangers came to Boston in those days, on literary or historical errands—men of tastes which brought them sooner or later to the "Old Corner" where the "Atlantic Monthly" was already a power. Of course one of the pleasures sought for was an interview with Dr. Holmes, the fame of whose wit ripened early—even before the days of the "Autocrat." It came about quite naturally, therefore, that they should gladly respond to any call which gave them the opportunity to listen to his conversation; and the eight-o'clock breakfast hour was chosen as being the only time the busy guests and host could readily call their own. Occasionally these breakfasts (at Mrs. Fields) would take place as frequently as two or three times a week. The light of memory has a wondrous gift of heightening most of the pleasures of this life, but the conversation of these early hours was far more stimulating and inspiring than any memory of it can ever be. There are few men, except Poe, famous in American or English literature of that era

who did not appear once at least. The unexpectedness of the company was a great charm; for a brief period Boston enjoyed a sense of cosmopolitanism, and found it possible, as it is really only possible in London, to bring together busy guests with full and eager brains who are not too familiar with one another's thought to make conversation an excitement and a source of development. Reading this we begin to understand what an integral part of that life the Fields were, and also what a charcteristic embodiment of it. It was not the brilliancy of the French Salon, that glittered in the house on Charles Street: neither was it the Bohemianism of a later day coterie of New York: it was, rather, a refined and gracious atmosphere, not formal and yet scrupulously correct, that was created by the host and hostess of that tranquil home, into which were welcomed not only the great but the humble: not only those who had achieved but those who were aspiring to fame.

After her husband's death Mrs. Fields still maintained the old customs, traditions and friendships, keeping to the very end her interest in all matters touching literature and fine publishing. Only a year ago she wrote to General Charles Lawrence Peirson in regard to a monograph of his just published:

"I have long been meaning to write you a brief word about the making of your book in Salem. It is done with so much taste and care that I looked at it carefully at first to see the mark of the Merrymount Press.

"Finding a new name (to me) and 'Salem' I really have wished ever since to have a bit of talk with you about the doing thereof. I think no personal friends could have done better for your history, and if the doers of your book were not friends before, they have offered a new and beautiful tribute to the bravery which has helped save our Land."

When one recalls that she was eighty years old when she penned this one cannot help but be struck by the liveliness of her mentality and the keenness of her appreciation.

It was after her husband's death that she became deeply interested in the Associated Charities and the question of self help. In her book "How to Help the Poor" she shows the clear intelligence and the same restraint in regard to economic matters which distinguished her in the literary and social world. Clubs and charities in which she was interested were many: to all that wide procession of philanthropies which started as far back as 1852—the training school for nurses, the after care of women discharged

from prison, the New England's woman's club, the Radical club, the care of foundling and motherless infants, the teaching the dumb to speak—she gave her support. But with the exception of the Associated Charities, of which she was the founder, perhaps the kind of beneficence which pleased her best was unobtrusive—that which has no organization, no president and no minutes of its last meeting. The young man struggling with a literary career, the elderly woman whose poems and occasional articles brought her only too meagre a pittance—to these sensitive persons who are the most difficult of all to help her gifts and pensions, sometimes received without their knowing the name of the giver, made life and hope possible. This is a charity which is finer than the word, and no one individual will ever know the extent and delicacy of Mrs. Fields' benefactions.

Thus the life which began in social and intellectual promise, when "a slip of a girl" as she says, she first began meeting notable people, and entertaining them under her own roof, ended in an old age of spiritual fulfillment.

It is pleasant to hear her friends tell of the grace of her entertaining—a grace which remained with her until the very end, when, an old lady with a white lace scarf over her head, clad in white and half reclining on her sofa she served her guests with a dignity which made it impossible for them to even suggest assisting with the heavy teapot. In her hospitality as in her writings she was old-fashioned in a day of new fashions, maintaining through the vulgar buzz of change a delicate distinction, as a lilac tree, crowded into a city close still maintains its fragrance. Charles Street became a noisy thoroughfare, but the shadows on the long drawing room were not disturbed: in Back Bay a millionaire built a mansion, and in his gorgeous library was not a single book—only cut glass vases and lace doilies scattered on the tables and on the shelves—but in the home of Mrs. Fields stood in quiet security books whose binding proclaimed them treasured first editions and whose annotations show them the once loved possessions of Lamb or Keats or Leigh Hunt. The debutantes of the season entertained at teas where low neck was en regle, and the tango was danced between cups, but Mrs. Fields still observed the ceremony with well-bred formality, and led the conversation along lofty and carefully chosen lines. Side by side with change she held her poise for over half a century, and now that she has gone Boston and New England have lost something that can never be replaced.

It is this loss which makes the passing of Mrs. Fields significant. To her personal friends there is a personal grief, and to those hundreds who received her gentle aid there is a double distress. But to those other hundreds and hundreds who did not know her, but to whom Boston is dear, her passing will have a subtle and immutable effect.

Such lives as Mrs. Fields add a richness to the picture of the past—a richness which no modern touch can simulate. Mrs. Fields is no longer a unique personality: she is a part of history, and with her going the long "trailing clouds of glory" which were the garments of Longfellow and Lowell and Tennyson, have been drawn across our vision for the last time. The door is closed: the house on Charles Street is tenantless: the last hand of the past has slipped from ours. Only as we stand by the "affeaced anonymous door," and realize what this house has meant to other lives, we seem to feel its charm even yet:

> There falls upon the old gray city
> An influence luminous and serene
> A shining peace.

REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

By Judge Francis M. Thompson of Greenfield, Massachusetts

Including His Narrative of Three Years in the New West, During Which He Took in 1862 a 3000-mile Trip From St. Louis up the Missouri, and Thence Down the Snake and Columbia Rivers to Portland, and to San Francisco, Returning in 1863.

(Continued from Vol. VII, No. 3.)

Helena, Montana, Jan'y 20, 1904.

Dear Thompson:

Contrasting recent winters with those you knew in the mountains, you would not know the country, for it is, and with the exception of less than a week, has been for eight months like summer; no snow, and only floods of golden sunshine with warm weather. Every one here is well excepting me. I harbor no illusions and feel that "sleep is beginning to lay me in the arms of her brother."

My trouble is of twenty-five years standing and is slowly culminating, and though I am well and work in the office every day, it is idle to say or hope it can long continue. A near denouement brings no terror. One hates to close the rhapsody of domestic life such as it has been my fortune to enjoy, and leave the relatives and friends which are mine.

And then this poor debouched state; it needs me, being wofully lacking in men of sensitive natures who resent civic treachery as a crime. What with the R. Roads and copper companies, and the millionaires, everything is pecuniarily appraised, except the scars on a soldier.

I have fought bribery and every form of civic corruption for forty years and now that it has become triumphant, I fight it still, and bear its contumely with becoming indignation.

I have led a strenuous life for forty years, and have lived for the state, and seeing my mistakes and omissions, know they cannot blot out my history, with which I am reasonably content. I have never fawned to, or flattered the coarse, or condoned wickedness in high places.

But I drop this. Don't think I am to die soon. I tell you those boys of 1863-4, are missing, one of them being of rare occurrence. . . . No man ever came to Montana and staid so short a time, left so deep an impress on history as did you, and it is a pleasure to know, in a rude time, the influence was wholly wholesome. . . . Come and stay with us on your way to Portland.

Yours very sincerely,

W. F. SANDERS.

When, after a long and bitter struggle, Montana was admitted to representation in the United States senate, Col. Sanders drew the short term, and at its expiration he returned to Helena and resumed the practice of his profession, with his son. His long and faithful service ended in the fall of 1905, after years of suffering which he bore with fortitude and resignation. In his death, Montana lost a most honest, able, and faithful citizen.

On the first of March, 1906, the legislature of Montana having established the county of "Sanders" in honor of the man who had done so much for the commonwealth, the citizens met at Thompson, which was named as the county seat, and installed the county officers.

"Fearless and firm, he never quailed,
Nor turned aside for threats, nor failed
To do the thing he undertook.
How wise, how brave, how well,
He bore himself, let history tell."

NATHANIEL PITT LANGFORD. I first met Mr. Langford at St. Paul, Minn., in the fall of 1859. He was then cashier in the banking house of his uncles, W. R. Marshall & Co.. and I was in that city in the employ of Wall street parties who intended to start a bank of issue under the laws of Minnesota. The friendship then begun has since continued. Mr. Langford was associated with Captain James L. Fisk in organizing a party of emigrants to cross the country from St. Paul to Fort Benton, practically upon the line of the present Northern Pacific Railroad, then an unoccupied wilderness.

The party left St. Paul, May 16th, 1862 and consisted of one hundred and thirty men, women and children, and arrived safely at Fort Benton Sept. 6th, and were soon scattered among the new mining camps in the mountains.

Mr. Langford was one of the first at Bannack, and being active and energentic, in company with others erected a saw mill some ten or twelve miles above Bannack, near to fine timber. These ingenious men manufactured the most of their necessary iron work for the mill from old, worn out wagons which had crossed the plains.

In January, 1863, a party of gamblers and roughs from sheer wickedness fired into a wikiup of the Sheep Eater tribe of Bannacks, killing an old chief, a lame Indian, a papoose, and a Frenchman named Cazette. "Old Snagg," the chief, was afterward scalped by Buck Stinson.

The law abiding citizens arose to the occasion and determined that the roughs who had perpetrated this outrage should be tried, and if found guilty suffer punishment. J. F. Hoyt was elected judge, and twelve good men selected as a jury, among whom were Mr. Langford. W. C. Rheem,

an able lawyer, was assigned as counsel for the accused and the trial proceeded.

Mr. Langford was a man of courage and solid worth, and became a marked man, when he voted "guilty" while all his comrades decided to clear the prisoners. The enmity of the road agents against him is easily accounted for, and he narrowly escaped death at their hands. He was the first post master of Bannack, but resigned in 1864 to become Collector of Internal Revenue of the new territory of Montana. He was succeeded as post master by Lucius Nims, Jr. Truman C. Everts was Assessor of Internal Revenue.

He occupied official positions in Montana until 1876, being appointed governor of the territory by Andy Johnson, but the strained relations then existing between the president and senate, prevented his confirmation to that office.

In August, 1870, he with other prominent citizens of the territory organized the Washburn Yellowstone expedition, and through the public press made known to the world the unparalleled phenomina of "Wonder-Land."

He was the first superintendent of the National Park, and continued in that position for more than five years without compensation, and paying his own expenses. He is an honorary member of the Historical Society of Montana, to which association he has contributed many valuable books and papers. He is president of the Historical Society of Minnesota, and makes his residence at St. Paul.

SAMUEL T. HAUSER. Mr. Hauser was from St. Louis and was a passenger with me on the Emilie in 1862. He was a civil engineer, a strong man both physically and mentally, and became one of the leading men of the new territory. He organized the First National Bank of Helena, and served as governor of Montana by appointment of Grover Cleveland. He was brave and fearless, and was severely wounded by the Crow Indians in the fight on the Yellowstone in 1863, while a member of the James Stuart party.

In his interesting story of "The Life and Adventures of Captain Joseph La Barge." (Francis P. Harper, N. Y., 1903) Hiram M. Chittenden, of the United States army, says, "The danger from snags was always present and sometimes very great, and passage of these obstructions was a matter of anxious solicitude on the part of both passengers and officers Less dangerous, but not less annoying, was the passage of shallow bars where there was not sufficient depth to float the boat. This usually occurred at the "crossings" or places where the channel, after having followed one side of the river-bed for a distance, crossed over to the other. In these places the channel generally split up into chutes, none of which might have the required depth of water. The pilot's first step would be to select

the most promising channel. If this failed, he retreated and tried another."

If no channel could be found, some officer of the boat would go out in the yawl, and sound for the deepest water, an if only a few inches in depth was lacking, the steamer would try "walking." Huge spars would be planted each side the bow, with the tops leaning up the river. By the use of tackle and the "nigger" engine, the boat would be partially lifted over the bar. At times when a depth of two or three inches more water would float the boat, the wheels were turned backward, thus damming up the water, while the spars and "nigger" engine would push her forward.

JOHN F. GRANT, popularly known as "Johnny" was son of Captain Richard Grant, who had been an officer of the Hudson Bay company, and was well known as a trader on the old emigrant road. C. P. Higgins, an able and worthy man, married one of Captain Grant's daughters. He and the Grant's settled in the Bitter Root Valley, near Fort Owen in 1857, and at the time of which I write, the Grants were rich in horses and cattle. "Johnny" was perhaps the earliest settler in the beautiful Deer Lodge Valley, and his herds swarmed therein when we first came to it. It was understood that he kept a squaw from each of the surrounding tribes of Indians, and when any approaching party of Indians were discovered, their tribal relations were early made out, and all the wives of other blood were carefully concealed, that no quarrel might result, during the entertainment of the uncles, aunts and cousins, of the wife of the blood of the visitors. Mr. Grant was a kind and generous friend to those whom he trusted, but was harsh with those he disliked.

One of the old pioneers was Louis R. Maillet who came into the country with the Stevens surveying party about 1855. He tells the following story of an incident in the life of "Johnny" Grant. In the winter of 1855, Grant "whose camp was on Beaverhead creek, was in his lodge making pack saddles, when the brother of one of his Indian wives entered and struck him on his head with a club, saying that his sister had been treated badly and that Grant loved his young Indian wife better than the old one. Grant threw the Indian down and held him, whereupon some squaws ran in armed with knives, and would certainly have killed him, had not Maillet interfered, knocking down two of them and threatening the others with his pistol if they did not leave. The trouble ended there, and Grant escaped. That night, another brother-in-law, his young wife's brother, arrived in camp. This was Tin-doy, who, Mr. Maillet says, was the bravest Indian he ever saw. Tin-doy rated the Indians roundy and told them that if they ever caused any more trouble he would take a club and knock their brains out. The Indians greatly feared him, and peace was restored in camp."

Once when taking four hundred head of cattle for "Johnny" Grant to

California, Mr. Maillet, riding ahead discovered signs of Indians. Waiting for his train to come up, he formed the wagons into a corral, near a small creek, and awaited events. He told his men to load every gun, and await the attack behind the shelter of the wagons. As soon as the Indians fired, to make a rush before they could have time to load. They were attacked and the scheme worked admirably; the Indians took to their heels and escaped to the rocks. He further says; "Among our party was a young man who lived in California, and who had come east to get himself a wife. He had married a young lady in Philadelphia, a very pretty girl, who did not seem more than sixteen years old. When the attack began, the husband had made a place for her between sacks of flour and placed her therein. This same young man was one of the first to run after the Indians. After they were dislodged, we turned towards the wagons and there we met this dear little woman who had followed us. Her husband chided her for leaving her place of security. Her tearful reply was that she thought her husband would surely be killed, and if he was, that she wanted to die too. Every man in the outfit instantly fell in love with her and would have died for her. As for myself, I am sure I felt as the others did, for I love her still.

We had one man—a Mr. Hall, killed, One Indian was seen to fall, rise and fall again. I do not know if he has risen since or not."

BUFFALO. Persons who never saw a large herd of buffalo, can scarcely credit statements made concerning the unlimited number of these awkward, ungainly creatures which once roamed over the great plains. Captain Lewis of the Lewis & Clark expedition says of a herd which he saw on Sun river: "There were at least ten thousand of them within a circle of two miles."

Again, of a herd seen on Teton river, near the present town of Benton: "We continued through immense herds of buffalo for twenty miles." His associate, Capt. Clark, writing of buffalo seen on his trip down the Yellowstone: "The herd stretched as thick as they could swim from one side of the river to the other, and the party was obliged to stop for an hour."

While making their celebrated portage around the Great Falls of the Missouri, Lewis and Clark say; "They go in great herds to water about the falls, and as the passages to the river near that place are narrow and steep, the foremost are pressed into the river by the impatience of those behind. In this way we have seen ten or a dozen disappear over the falls in a few minutes."

The herds were not perceptibly diminished at the time of our expedition. I have seen countless multitudes upon the rolling prairies bordering the Missouri River, between old Forts Pierre and Union. At times the wheels of the steamer were stopped for fear of injuring both the paddle

wheels, and in consideration for the stupid, bull-headed beasts who blocked the way.

More than once when on a boat going down the river have I seen upon the bank below us a large herd grazing close to shore, and as the boat approached they would take fright and run down the stream, trampling down willows and brush as they ran, and coming to some turn in the river keep straight on, plunging over the bank and each other, hundreds upon hundreds, while the boat, unable to stop its progress in season, would strike many under its wheels.

When running free upon the prairie, its lumbering gait appears slow, and extremely awkward, leaning far over to one side, then changing and leaning to the other, like a sail boat in a vigorous breeze. In fact, their progress is rapid, and it takes the very fastest Indian pony to overtake and pass one.

In the old days when hunting them with bow and arrows, the pursuer would ride along side and the beast of his selection, and let drive an arrow, and if placed in the right spot he paid no more attention to that particular animal but selected another for his victim. When hunting with the old Hudson Bay flint lock, the Indian carried his bullets in his mouth, and his powder in a horn. When loading he placed the horn in the muzzle of the gun, and let the powder run until he thought he had a charge, then dropped in a bullet which ran down to the powder, while he held the gun nearly perpendicular while riding at utmost speed. Coming along side his victim, he lowered the mizzle of his gun, and fired. If the bullet had not escaped from the gun before it went off, he was in luck. In this way many of the Indians' guns are shortened, which has often been the subject of remark by tenderfeet, the muzzles having been blown off while hunting buffalo.

Captain Chittenden in his "Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River," tells a funny story of a buffalo hunt in which Captain Joseph La Barge took part. On one of his trips to the mountain, the men had got pretty tired of the regulation fare on the boat, and longed for fresh meat. His first mate was an Englishman who had never seen a wild buffalo. Soon after they saw four bulls swimming the river. Captain La Barge said, "Man the yawl, John, and I will go with you and we will have a buffalo before we get back." The Captain ordered the men on the steamer to shoot the animals, and he would lasso a wounded one and drag it to the boat. He placed the mate in the bow of the yawl with a line, while he took the rudder. The men fired and wounded two buffalos. To reach them the yawl had to pass close to the uninjured ones. To the consternation of the Captain, the mate slipped his noose over the horns of a big bull which had not been wounded. Too late, the Captain shouted that he did not wish to anchor to a live buffalo. "Oh," exclaimed the mate, "he's as good as any."

The crew backed the oars, but to no purpose; away went the bull with the boat, and when he struck the shore, they started across the prairie, but soon the stem of the yawl gave way, being wrenched entirely out of the boat and carried off by the beast in his flight.

PRICES OF PROVISIONS, &c. Upon my books I find charged out for Thanksgiving dinner, 1863

3	cans of peaches	$3.00
3	chickens	9.00
1	can of oysters	1.00
5½	lbs. hominy	3.00

Sold A. J. Oliver & Co.

1	gal. molasses	$6.00
5	lbs. candles	5.00
5	boxes matches	1.00
1	tin bucket	1.00
23	lbs. butter	34.50
60	lbs. meal	18.00

Tobacco reached $15 per pound for a short time in 1863. In January, 1864, I find the following bill of goods credited to W. A. Clarke, since United States senator, and the celebrated multi-millionaire, then freighting and trading between the mines and Salt Lake City:

2	boxes of butter	299 lbs.	$299.00
3	sacks of flour	261 lbs.	208.80
5	sacks of peaches	201 lbs.	160.80
1	box of eggs	120 doz.	120.00
129	lbs. of oats		24.27
			$812.87

Staples, viz., coal oil and whisky, were ten dollars per gallon.

MILK RIVER. On the 8th of May, 1805, Lewis and Clark came to a stream having "a peculiar whiteness, such as might be produced by a tablespoonful of milk in a dish of tea," which they named "Milk River." The stream has retained its name, and as in the early days of steamboat navigation, boats rarely ascended above this point, its valley became the great highway to Fort Benton and beyond. When the railroads were built, the engineers followed the broad trail in their course to the Pacific coast.

FIRST NEWSPAPER IN MONTANA. In Vol. III, page 300 of the publications of the Historical Society of Montana, N. H. Webster in

writing of the Montana Post, which was the first regular newspaper printed in the Territory, says:

"This was an excellent paper, the first established in Virginia City, and with the exception of the "News Letter" of Bannack, a small sheet, of short life, the Post was really the first paper in the Territory."

The facts are, that I had a small hand press sent out in the spring of 1864 and with it the head lines for a news letter. Using this heading, I published a few numbers giving local news about Bannack, with no intention of making the publication a permanent affair. As this was the first attempt at a newspaper in Montana, I claim whatever credit there may be in the matter. I am informed that copies are on file in the archives of the Historical Society.

TRUMAN C. EVERTS came to Montana in 1864 bearing the appointment of Assessor of Internal Revenue. He made his headquarters at my store in Bannack, and was a cultured gentleman and proved an efficient officer. In 1870 he joined the Washburn expedition to the Yellowstone Lake country. Wholly devoid of skill in woodcraft, he managed to stray from his companions while in the wilderness, and for thirty-seven days wandered alone without blankets or arms, a portion of the time scarcely sane, living upon thistle roots, and dogged for hours by a mountain lion. He at length was found by a party which had been sent out for his rescue. He died at Hyattsville, Md., February 16th, 1901, aged 85 years. See his relation, Scribner's Magazine, November, 1871.

THE FIRST SCHOOL IN MONTANA. Miss Lucia Darling, niece of Governor Edgerton, taught the first school established in what is now Montana. It was opened in a room of the log cabin of her uncle, in the fall of 1863. When looking for a place in which to open her school, Miss Darling and her uncle called upon one patriotic citizen and explained their business. He said, "Yes, glad of it; d——d shame, children running around in the streets; ought to be in school; I'll do anything I can to help her, she can have this room; I'll give it to her cheap. She can have it for fifty dollars a month; it's dirt cheap!"

Miss Darling gathered about about twenty pupils. She afterwards became Mrs. S. W. Park of Warren, Ohio. Mrs. Park died August 18th, 1905.

MARY HARROD NORTHEND

AUTHORITY AND WRITER ON COLONIAL HOMES OF NEW ENGLAND

CHARLES ARTHUR HIGGINS, LL. M.

The winning of victory out of almost years of defeat is what impressed me most strongly as the accomplishment of one Massachusetts woman, Mary Harrod Northend, the famous authority and writer upon American historical and colonial homes, and their settings and furnishings.

In the quaint old side street of Lynde in Salem, I found Miss Northend surrounded by her inherited and accumulated treasures. Here we talked of her early struggles, her successes and her hopes. I found a bright, happy little woman with sparkling eyes and ready voice, which belied the gathering crown of silver about the brow of this clever, determined piece of interesting femininity.

The author relates that in girlhood and young womanhood, she was a semi-invalid, and consequently her school days were brief and intermittant. She had reached a mature age, when, after various efforts toward self-support, an incident in her social life led her to attempt literary work.

It was after a house party, some dozen years ago that Miss Northend was searching for someone to record the occasion in verse; she could find no one, and was forced to do it herself. Miss Northend says that she turned out a couple of bits of "doggerel" but they were accepted as "poems," and from that period she determined to enter the literary field in earnest. She relates that her intimates, knowing her educational deficiencies, frankly endeavored to discourage her, saying it would be wasted effort, and for a time their prophecies seemed true. Her manuscripts were politely returned by magazine editors, with her autograph and address cut from the page and pasted on the outside of the envelope, because they could not decipher the writing nor, probably, read any of the contents. A typewriter was the ultimate remedy for that.

Then Miss Northend began a campaign in the magazine departments of the metropolitan dailies and received her first encouragement some dozen years ago from the Sunday editor of the Boston Herald. Her kodak furnished the first illustrations but were far from satisfactory and the embryo author was wise enough to devote her energies to the story side. Later she hired a professional photographer to accompany her on copy-producing excursions. By polishing and repolishing her efforts, this woman of meagre educational opportunities, has brought herself in fifteen years to a position of known ability and recognized authority, and to a point where the demand for her work is beyond her physical powers.

Last year over one hundred and fifty articles were published in various magazines that appear in every household. Her second book, "Historic Homes of New England," followed quickly after her earlier work, "Colonial Homes and Their Furnishings." Each is a pretentious volume of beauty and rich with a wealth of illustrations. Through the urging of her publishers, Little, Brown & Co., Miss Northend brought out the earlier volume in seven weeks time, an act made possible only by the existence of the most wonderful collection of negatives in the country, bearing upon colonial and historic homes, which now numbers nearly sixteen thousand.

Her work is most often seen in the *Ladies Home Journal*, to which she is a constant contributor. But some thirty-seven different periodicals have a call for her work. At the present time she has in preparation two articles for the *Century*, one on the "Value of Summer Camps," and another on "North Shore Gardens"; also an article for the *Outlook*, "Why Mothers Should Send Their Girls to Summer Camps." Her third book, which is now "on the ways" will be devoted to the subject of "Remodeled Farm Houses", to embrace not only New England houses, but examples in other states as well.

While Miss Northend's writings are familiar to the average reader, yet her principal feature is photographic work for magazines, and much of her time, more especially during the summer months, is devoted to travelling all over New England getting beautiful homes, grounds, and other pictures to be used during the winter months, taking from 2000 to 3000 pictures each year.

She claims that much of her success in this work resulted from the fact that she always gives personal supervision to everything, and while it entails an immense amount of work and takes a great deal of time, yet the

MARY HERROD NORTHEND

WHO HAS HAD A REMARKABLE RISE AS MAGAZINE CONTRIBUTOR, AND AUTHOR

same perseverance which has stood her well in life has brought her to a place where she can claim a position of her own in the pictorial magazine work of today. She often spends from an hour to an hour and a half in one room, arranging small insignificant details, to make a complete whole.

She maintains that magazines and newspapers have whims as well as people, and one particular line must be followed carefully, if one would be successful. One year, elaborate gardens and houses are in demand, while the next year the hand swings backward and practical things such as small houses, back-door gardens, and "before and after" views, are used. Miss Northend also claims that the pictorial end is being made more and more of, and it is an education to any person to study this line of work, both practically and through magazines, which tell the story by photograph far better than words can.

To accomplish the amount of work she does, Miss Northend rises in the early hours, often before five o'clock, and, too frequently, burns the candle far into the night. She has in her employ a great part of the time, a stenographer, several file clerks, and a salaried photographer, besides other assistants.

When asked to what particular cause she attributed her success, Miss Northend replied: "Oh, to my friends, the citizens of my home town, Salem. Had they not thrown open their homes for my inspection and reproduction, I would have been nothing." But modest and grateful as the little lady is, had not her own perseverance and hope won for her sufficient evidences of success-attaining ability, Salem pride would not have allowed mediocre efforts to have given publicity to its firesides; but now the owners of those beautiful Salem mansions are as proud of the fame and authority of their author as they are of her subject matter. Miss Northend has been repeatedly urged to make her abode in New York; but she states that nothing can make her forsake the city that has so kindly aided her to fame.

Another secret of her authoritative position is proof of the old adage, "Blood will tell." William Dummer Northend, her father, was a celebrated criminal lawyer of New England, and as author of "The Old Bay Colony," was known as one of the most accurate historical writers of the period. A descendant of Governor Dummer of colonial days, and blood kin of the Longfellows and Lowells. From old Newburyport, the Wheelwrights and Harrods were the ancestors on her mother's side.

So this brief sketch proves that efforts that were at first considered the riding of a hobby, have passed into the full position of an honorable profession. For Miss Northend's boundaries of research, description and illustration are not limited to the exterior or interiors of four walls, but to every detail connected with the fitting. Chapters are written on doorknockers or andirons; wall papers receive historic treatment that is educational, gateways, lintels, windows, stairways, fireplaces, porticoes, china, glassware, silver, pewter, furniture and draperies, as well as the gardens and walks, have received that dignified treatment that causes her articles and works to be read by the architect, the designer, the expert in every furnishing trade and profession, and sought after by the historian, the student, the artist and the booklover of every degree.

Wisely this little lady early resolved to break the rigors of her constant labor by bringing to her side pleasant friends and enlightening converse, and so each Friday evening finds gathered in her rooms, a select coterie of literary and artistic workers, happy over Miss Northend's brewing of the tea.

COLONEL JOHN PATERSON'S REGIMENT

COLONEL JOHN PATERSON'S MINUTE MEN'S AND MILITIA REGIMENT, APRIL 19, 1775.
COLONEL JOHN PATERSON'S 12TH REGIMENT, PROVINCIAL ARMY, MAY-JUNE 1775.
COLONEL JOHN PATERSON'S 26TH REGIMENT, ARMY OF THE UNITED COLONIES, JULY-DECEMBER, 1775.

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M D.

Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which responded to the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1776, was made up of Minute Men and Militia from Berkshire County. The Regiment was composed of seven companies with officers as follows:

Captains	First Lieutenants	Second Lieutenants
Peter Porter	Moses Ashley	Silas Childs
Charles Dibble	Simeon Smith	Amos Porter
William Goodridge	David Pixley	———
Thomas Williams	Josiah Arnold	Oringh Stoddard
David Rossiter	Ebenezer Smith	———
Asa Barnes	Thomas Nichols	Ensign Caleb Smith
David Noble	Joseph Welch	Josiah Wright . . . .

A list of the Field and Staff officers from April 22nd to May 7th contains the following:

Colonel John Paterson	Lenox	April 22
Lietenant Colonel Seth Reed	Uxbridge	April 20
Major Jeremiah Cady	Gageborough	April 22
Adjutant Enoch Woodbridge		April 22
Chaplain David Avery		
Surgeon Timothy Childs		
Surgeon's Mate Jonathan Lee		
Quartermaster Gerard Fitch		

Under date of May 26, 1775, we find the following:

"Capt. I. W. Kilton	56
Capt. Will. Wyman	47
Capt. Joseph Morse	49
Capt. Sam. Sloan	52
Capt. Chas. Dibble	38
Capt. Will Gutteridge	58
Capt. David Noble	53
Capt. Thomas Williams	47
Capt. Watkins	43
Capt. Gibbs	35
	481

John Paterson."

"A return of Colonel Paterson's Regiment, May 27, 1775.

Field Officers:

John Paterson, Colonel.
Seth Reed, Lieutenant-Colonel.
Jeremiah Cady, Major.

Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns	
Samuel Kelton	John Bacon	Nahum Powers	56
Wm. Wyman	Sam'l Chapin	Peter White	45
Joseph Moss	Wm. Bowdoin	(Recruiting)	47
Sam'l Sloan	Zebediah Sabin	Enos Parker	49
Chas. Dibbell	Simeon Smith		59
Wm. Goodridge	David Pixley		59
David Noble	Joseph Welch	Josiah Wright	50
Thomas Williams	Orange Stoddard	Ashley	44
Nathan Watkins	Wm. Clark	Sam'l Wilcocks	34
Capt. Bliss			33
			496

Commission officers not included."

A similar list found in the Archives 27, Page 201, gives the following additions or variations:

"Timothy Childs, Surgeon.
John Lee, Surgeon's Mate.
Lt. Moses Ashley, in Captain Thomas William's Company.

Lt. John Compston, in Captain Bliss's Company.
Ensign Orange Stoddard, in Captain Tromas William's Company.
Ensign Francis Cabot, in Captain Bliss's Company."

"Capt. John McKinster of Nobletown took out inlisting orders from Capt. Charles Dibbell in Col. Patterson's Regiment, we suppose this Company to be full & near if not quite compleat as to arms & may be expected here this week. Capt. Douglas at Jerico took inlisting orders as above. we suppose his Company to be full & arms sufficient, this company may be extected here by next Monday at fartherest. Capt. Ingersol's Company may be expected every hour, he took our inlisting Orders from Capt. Wm. Guttridge in Collo. Patterson's Regiment & is now on his March, supposed to be full and compleat with arms. Capt. Pratt we hear is gone, or proposes to go to the Northward. Capt. Strong we are doubtful whether he will get his Company full.

John Paterson,
Wm. Goodridge.

Cambridge, June 13, 1775."

On the morning of June 17, 1775, when news of the landing of the British troops in Charlestown reached Cambridge, General Artemas Ward reserved his own regiment, Paterson's, Gardner's, and part of Bridges's Regiments, to be prepared for an attack on Cambridge, when he ordered the remainder of the Massachusetts forces to Charlestown. Colonel Paterson's regiment marched to the battle in the afternoon, and one man in the regiment was wounded.

June 26, 1775, "whereas Capt. Mackenster of Spencer and Capt. Porter of Becket have Inlisted each a Company of men on the Establishment of this Colony and Not joyned as yet to any Regiment. Resolved, That the Said Company be Joyned to Colo. John Pattison's Regiment, now stationed at Cambridge immediately, Provided Sd Companys are full or near full and that Each man is equipt with a good and sufficient firelock and join their regiment as soon as may be passed."

The towns represented in this regiment are shown in the following list:

Captains

Jno. McKinstry.
Sam'l Sloan, Williamstown, E. Hoosac, etc., Sharon, Nobletown.
Wm. Goodridge, Stockbridge 32 Indians). (
Theo.Bliss, Boston, Pepperillboro.
Sam'l Kilton, Needham, Newton, etc., etc.

Wm. Wyman, Uxbridge, Boston, Mendon, etc., etc.
Nathan Watkins, Partridgefield, Gageborough, Plainfield, No. 5, etc., etc.
Jos. Morse, Natick, Roxbury, Medway, Sherborn, etc.
Chas. Dibble, Lenox, Stockbridge, Glass-works, etc., etc.
David Noble, Pittsfield, Richmond, etc.
Thos. Williams, Stockbridge, W. Stockbridge, Becket, Hartwood.

A list dated July 15, 1775, gives the nafes of the following officers on recruiting duty:

Lt. Zebadiah Sabin.
Lt. Moses Ashley.
Lt. Wm. Boden.
Lt. Wm. Clark.
Capt. Chas. Dibbell.
Lt. John Wyman.
Capt. Wm. Goodrich.
Tehoiakim Mtojhksin.
Lieut. John Bacon.

July 22, 1775, Colonel Paterson's Regiment was assigned to Brigadier General Heath's Brigade, Major General Israel Putnam's Division. This regiment, which was at that time at No. 3 "to take post at No. 1 and the redoubt between that and No. 2."

"An abstract due to the Field & Staff Officers of ye 26th Rg't from ye 1st day of May to ye 1st day of August, 1775, one day included together with ye Place

John Paterson, Lenox, Colonel, eng. May 7.
Seth Reed, Uxbridge, Lt. Col., eng. May 7.
Jeremiah Cady, Gageborough, Major.
David Avery, Gageborough, Chaplain.
————, Adjutant.
Gerard Fitch, Stockbridge, Qt. Mr.
Timo. Childs, Pittsfield, Surgeon.
Jona. Lee, Pittsfield, Surgeon's Mate."

List dated August 1, 1775.

September 30, 1775, the regiment was stationed at "Number Three."

A list of officers of the Regiment dated August 6, 1775, is identical with the above list of August 1st, with the exception that the Adjutant

is given as William Walker of Lenox. A return made October 18, 1775, shows that the Regiment was still at "Number Three."

"Province of Massachusetts Bay.

To the Honorable Council & House of Representatives.

In General Court at Watertown Assembled.

Gentm. The Petition of Us the Subscribers humbly Showeth that we have been at past of the Trouble and Expence of raising Several Companies in the 26th Reg't of Foot in the Continental Army, Commanded Col. John Paterson & marching them to camp & have Serv'd as Officers in said Reg't had encouragment of being Commissioned as such, but through Neglect have not yet Rec'd such Commission. We therefore Humbly pray this Honorable Court if they in their great Wisdom Should think fit to grant us Commissions accordingly & your Petitioners as in Duty shall Ever Pray.

John McKinstry, Captain.
Wm. Walker, Adjutant.
Thom. McKinstry, 1st Lt.
John Pennoyer, 2d Lt.
Jed. Sanger, 2d Lt.
Amos Porter, 2d Lt.
Wm. Watkins, 2nd Lt.
Jacob Lyon, 2d Lt.
Edw. Compston, 2d Lt.

This may certify that the within named Officers have served in their respective offices during the Summer Past.

John Paterson,
Col. 26th Reg't.

October 23, 1775.

Commission recommended by Council October 31, 1775."

This regiment took part in the engagement at Lechmere Point on the 9th of November, 1775, and the part which they played caused General Washington to write as follows:

"The alacrity of the rifle men and officers upon the occasion did them honor, to which Colonel Paterson's Regiment, and some others, were properly entitled."

He praised them in the general orders of the next day.

Two companies belonging to this regiment, under the command of

Captains William Goodrich and Thomas Williams, both of Stockbridge, went on Arnold's Quebec expedition. The large number of Indians in these companies was probably the especial reason for their selection. They were both in Major Roger Enos's Battalian as the expedition was first organized, and when at Fort Western, a reorganization was made, Captain Goodrich's Company was in Major Return Jonathan Meig's Third Division and Captain Williams's Company in Lieut. Colonel Roger Enos's Fourth Division. The division under the command of Major Enos after reaching Dead River returned with the report that on account of a serious lack of provisions they were not able to proceed. Captain Williams's returned in this section of the expedition but Captain Goodrich with his company reached Quebec, where he was taken prisoner as narrated in the biographical sketch in the second section of this article. Lieutenant John Cumpston, of Saco, Maine District, was also a member of Arnold's Quebec expedition, from Colonel Paterson's Regiment.

Nine of the officers of this regiment had seen service in the French war or the Militia, before the Revolution. The following ranks were attained by officers of this regiment during their service in the war: one major general, one colonel, two lieutenant- colonels, four majors, nineteen captains, eleven first lieutenants, six second lieutenants, two ensigns, one adjutant (rank not given), one surgeon and one surgeon's mate.

The strength of this regiment during the year is shown in the following table:

Date.	Com. Off.	Staff.	Non Com.	Rank and file.	Total
June 9	32	.	64	440	536
July	19	4	53	409	485
Aug. 18	34	5	57	506	602
Sept. 23	33	5	57	445	540
Oct. 17	25	5	48	407	485
Nov. 18	27	4	54	432	517
Dec. 30	28	3	49	459	539

COLONEL JOHN PATERSON was the son of Colonel John and Ruth (Bird) Paterson. He was born in Farmington, Connecticut, in 1744. He fitted for college in his native town, and graduated at Yale in 1762. A few weeks after his graduation his father died in Havana, Cuba, whether he had gone in command of a company of picked men from Farmington and Whethersfield, a part of the army under command of Lord Albemarle. The son John studied law, teaching school in the mean-

time. He soon became distinguished in his profession, and in 1774 removed to Lenox, Berkshire County, Massachusetts. Soon after his arrival he was chosen Clerk of the Propriety. He represented the town in the General Court in May, 1774, and was made a selectman and assessor. "Mr. John Paterson" represented the Town of Lenox in the first Provincial Congress in October, 1774. October 25, 1774, he was chairman of a Committee of Progress "to inquire into the state of all the stores in the commissiary general's office." "John Paterson, Esq." was the representative from Lenox to the Second Provincial Congress, held in February, 1775. February 9th he was chairman of a committee "to report a resolve for the publication of the names of all those who have been appointed counsellors by mandamus, and have refused to resign their appointments." On the 10th he was a member of a committee "to revise the commission of the committee of safety, and the commission of the committee of supplies, and point out what amendments, if any, are necessary." Three days later Colonel Paterson was appointed on a committee "to bring in a resolve for inquiring into the state of the militia, their numbers and equipments, and recommending to the selectmen of the several towns and districts in this Province to make return of their own town and district, stock of ammunition and warlike stores, to this Congress." In the records of the same day we read: "Ordered, That Col. Paterson bring in a resolve appointing an agent, for, and in behalf of this Province, to repair to the Province of Quebec and there establish a correspondence to collect and transmit to us the best and earliest intelligence that can be obtained of the sentiments and determination of the inhabitants of that Province with regards to the late actions of Parliment or any other imporant matters that do or may effect the colonies in their present dispute with Great Britain."

On the following day, he, with Mr. Bigelow and Colonel Henshaw were directed "to bring in a resolve, directing and empowering the Committee of correspondence in the Town of Boston to establish an intimate correspondence with the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec," etc.

A committee of Congress, April 1, 1775 was directed "to pay the sum of twenty-three pounds, lawful money, into the hands of Colonel John Paterson and Capt. William Goodridge, to be employed in purchasing a number of blankets and some ribbons which they are to present to the Indians enlisted as aforesaid, viz: one blanket and one yard of ribbon to each person, that is or may be enlisted; and in case the whole of the

money should not be employed in the purchase of the aforesaid, they are to be accountable for the residue." A letter from the Congress of appreciation to the Indians for their offers of service and sympathy was addressed "To Jehoiakin Mtohksin, and the rest of our brethren, the Indians, natives of Stockbridge;" and Colonel Paterson with two others was ordered to draft a letter to the Reverend Mr. Kirkland, and an address to the Chief of the Mohawk Indian Tribe. This letter was presented to the Congress three days later, and on the same date it was "ordered" that Captain Goodridge apply to Colonel Paterson "in regard to a motion which Captain Goodridge had presented for 'liberty' to augment his company to one hundred men, and that they be considered as rangers." Colonel Paterson was to "consult the field officers of those regiments of militia, from which said company is to be enlisted."

Upon receipt of the news of the Lexington alarm Colonel Paterson assembled members of his regiment, and on April 22, 1775, marched with them to Cambridge. April 24, 1775, he was appointed one of a committee "to attend the committee of safety, and let them know the names of officers . . . . belonging to the Minute Men and such as are most suitable for office in the Army now raising." May 5, 1775, he was engaged as Colonel of the 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. On the 8th of May Colonel Paterson, with two others was appointed on a Committee "to give notice to such members of this Congress as are now at Cambridge and Roxbury, and other absent members whom we can notify that a matter of greatest importance is to be taken into consideration at three o'clock tomorrow afternoon and to direct their attendance at that time." A commission was granted to him by this Congress before its close, May 29, 1775, as Colonel of the Regiment.

"Resolved, that Colonel Asa Whitcomb be directed to pay the advance pay of those Companies in Colonel Paterson's Regiment, who came from the County of Berkshire, out of the first money he may receive from the Receiver General." (June 4, 1775.)

The record of Colonel Paterson and his men at Bunker Hill has already been given in the historical section of this article. The army was reorganized in July and Colonel Paterson's Regiment became the 26th in the Army of the United Colonies. During the remainder of the year this regiment did excellent service in the seige of Boston. When the Continental Army was formed in January, 1776, Colonel Paterson was given command of the 15th Regiment. After the evacuation of Boston by the

British, Colonel Paterson was ordered with his regiment to New York, and they marched on the 18th of March. He was stationed with his men for a short time on Staten Island, where they remained for a short time, as a part of the defensive force of New York, for on April 21st they sailed from New York up the Hudson as one of the regiments ordered to relieve the Americans in Canada. Early in May they were in Montreal where they suffered severely from small pox, and a general vaccination was ordered. He was engaged with his regiment, in the battle of The Cedars, where they met with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, and sixty-seven were taken prisoners. In June they retreated by way of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. During the summer he remained with his regiment at Fort Independence opposite Ticonderoga, and on September 22nd was ordered to Fort George. On November 18th they were ordered to embark at Lake George on their way south. He had only 331 men fit for duty on November 19, 1776. They left Albany, December 3rd, and reached Peakskill December 8th. When he reached Washington's Army which was retreating through New Jersey, he reported with only 220 out of the 600 men who had left for the northern campaign in April. He took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and when the army was reorganized in January, 1777, he was given command of the First in that service, but on the 16th of February, 1777, Congress promoted him to the rank of Brigadier General, and he received his commission on the 31st, and was assigned to the Northern Department. Colonel Joseph Vose was appointed to command his regiment. General Paterson left at once for Ticonderoga. In the first battle of Stillwater, September 19, 1777, his brigade with that of Generals Glover's and Nixon's formed the right wing in the American Army. In the second battle of Bemis's Heights, October 7th, he with his troops, assaulted the entrenchments of Balcarras, being driven back from under the heavy fire of the grape and musket balls. Rallying the troops of his own and Glover's and Learned's Regiments, he attacked the great redoubt, and drove the British Light Infantry, finally carrying the works. He was wounded, but he secured the victory. He remained on duty, however, during the strenuous days which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne. During the winter of 1777-8 he was at Valley Forge with his brigade. General Patterson with his brigade performed distinguished services in the battle of Monmouth by repelling the attacks of General Clinton. At White Plains, General Paterson's Brigade, composed of the 10th, 11th, 12th and 14th Regiments,

Massachusetts Line, was known as the 3rd Massachusetts Brigade. During the winter of 1778-9 General Paterson's Brigade was stationed at West Point, the command of that post having been given to him. From then, on to the close of the war, he was constantly in the Highlands, and frequently commanded at West Point, notably during the winters of 1777-8, 1778-9, 1779-80. During the winter of 1780-81 he was under General Heath, and 1781-2 he was under General McDougall. On September 30, 1783 George Paterson was commissioned a Major General. Thomas Egleston in his "Life of Major General John Paterson" says: "He left the Army in December, 1783, having remained in service continually since he was appointed Colonel. He was one of the last Generals to leave the Army. On his retirement he was granted half pay for life. . . . . With the exception of Lafayette, he was the youngest officer of his rank in the Revolutionary War, and he had the complete confidence of his superiors, not only as a patriot and a soldier, but as a man of sound judgment. His early experience as a lawyer and as a leader of men had ripened his judgment and given to his mind his judicial character." He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati formed in January, 1783. When the Massachusetts Society was formed in June of that year, General Paterson presided. After the war he returned to Lenox, and built the house which, in 1894, was occupied by his great-grandson, Thomas Egleston of New York. During Shay's Rebellion in 1786-7 he headed a detachment of Berkshire Militia ordered out for its suppression. After peace was restored, he resumed the practice of his profession. In 1790, General Paterson became one of the proprietors of the "Boston Purchase" consisting of 230,400 acres of Broome and Tioga County, New York, and in the following year, he removed to Lisle, now known as Whitney's Point. He held many offices in this new section, and was the first judge and first representative to the State Legislature from the new county. From October 7, 1803, to March 3, 1805, he was Representative in the United States Congress from Tioga County. Broome County was set off from Tioga in 1806, and May 13th of that year he was made Chief Justice of the new county, serving during the remainder of his life. Professor Egleston wrote of him as follows:

"General Paterson was six feet, one and one-half inches in height, and well proportioned, of graceful carriage and commanding mein. He was a nervous, quick, active man, and a great pedestrian. While County Judge he would often walk eighteen miles to Binghampton to hold his

court rather than to go to the field and catch a horse to ride. While in the army he served as a drill officer. He was diffident, retiring of habit, never putting himself forward or importuning for place. Duty was first with him, whether he received censure or praise for doing it. He always had the force of law with him. In all his relations he maintained the strictest interpretation of the propriety and order, and he never forgot that he was a gentleman." He died at Lisle, New York, July 19, 1808, aged 64 years. A monument tablet to his memory was erected in Trinity Church in Lenox by his great-grandson, Thomas Egleston, in 1887.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL SETH REED of Uxbridge was probably the son of Lieutenant John Reed of the same town, who was born March 6, 1748. April 19, 1775, he was engaged as Major in Colonel Ebenezer Learned's Regiment, serving five days. May 7, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. May 30th and 31st, 1775, he was reported "Field Officer of the main Guards." When the Army was reorganized in July, 1775, he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel under the same command in the 26th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies and served through the year.

MAJOR JEREMIAH CADY of Gageborough, was Captain of a Gageborough Company in Colonel Williams's "North Berkshire" Regiment, in July, 1771. He was appointed Major of Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, April 22, 1775. A few days later he became Major of Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. When the Army of the United Colonies was formed in July he held the same rank in the 26th Regiment, under the same commander, and served through the year. In a letter from General Schuyler dated Jan. 28, 1776, mention was made of Major Cady as commanding a "Corp."

ADJUTANT ENOCH WOODBRIDGE of Stockbridge was appointed to the office April 22, 1775. He served through May 7, 1775. From January 1, 1777 to November 20, 1778, he was quartermaster of Colonel Seth Warner's Additional Continental Regiment.

ADJUTANT WILLIAM WALKER of Lenox, held that rank in this Regiment as shown by a list of Field and Staff Officers of Colonel John

Paterson's 26th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, dated October 6, 1775. Just when he entered the service we do not know, but we are certain that he had held the office during the summer, from a communication addressed to Geenral Washington, signed by James Otis in behalf of council to General Washington (dated January 1, 1775.) In this recommendation that a commission be granted, the statement was made that the officers whose names were mentioned had served during the "summer past." January 1, 1776, he became First Lieutenant in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment in the Continental Army.

QUARTERMASTER GERARD (also given GARED) FITCH of Stockbridge, was appointed to that office, April 22, 1775, and served through the year under Colonel Paterson in his three regiments; the Lexington Alarm Regiment, 12th Regiment in the Provincial Army, and from July to December in the 26th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies. During 1776 he was Quartermaster of Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment in the Continental Army.

CHAPLAIN DAVID AVERY of Gageborough (Winsor) was engaged to serve in Colonel Paterson's Regiment, April 22, 1775, and he served through the year on Colonel Paterson's staff. February 15, 1777, he became Chaplain of Colonel Henry Sherburne's Additional Regiment. August 15, 1778, he was appointed Chaplain of the 4th Massachusetts Brigade. He resigned March 4, 1780.

SURGEON TIMOTHY CHILDS of Pittsfield was the son of Captain Timothy and Mary (Wells) Childs. He was born in Deerfield, April 9, 1748. On the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain David Noble's Company in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment. May 7, 1775, he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he held the same rank through the year on the staff of this commander. During 1776 he was Surgeon in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment in the Continental Army. The following tribute is paid to him in the Child's Genealogy: "He was an ardent advocate of the people's rights, and of our Republican form of government. During the struggle for Independence, he participated actively and zealously, by every means in his power, to promote the views and obects of the most eminently successful and useful. As a physician,

Doctor Childs was eminently successful. As a public man he was able . . . . As a testimony of the people's confidence, they for many years elected him to represent them in the Legislature of Massachusetts, both in the House and in the Senate." According to Heitman's "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" he died February 25, 1821. But the Childs Genealogy gives his age at death as 76 years.

SURGEON'S MATE JONATHAN LEE of Pittsfield served in this regiment from April 22, 1775 at least through July of that year, and in all probability through the year. During 1776 he held the same rank in Colonel Paterson's 15th Regiment in the Continental Army.

CAPTAIN ASA BARNES of Lanesborough marched in command of a company in this regiment on April 22, 1775. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. April 29, 1775 he enlisted in Colonel Ruggles Woodbridge's Regiment, and commanded a company in that organization through the year. A biographical sketch of this officer has been given in the Massachusetts Magazine, Volume 4, Page 40.

CAPTAIN THOMAS THEODORE BLISS of Boston enlisted as an officer in this regiment April 20, 1775, and served under Colonel Paterson through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army. He was taken prisoner at The Cedars, May 18, 1776, released on the following day, and retaken on the day after that. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel John Lamb's Second Regiment, Continental Artillery. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Monmouth on the 28th of June, 1778, and was exchanged in December of that year. He rejoined his company and served to June, 1783.

CAPTAIN CHARLES DIBBLE of Lenox, held that rank in a company of Minute Men of this Regiment, and marched in response to the Lexington alarm or April 19, 1775. Soon after his arrival at Cambridge, he returned to Berkshire County, and enlisted five full companies, three of which joined the army at Cambridge, and two the army that went to the Northward. He went to Albany and purchased firearms and blankets for the army at Cambridge. April 23, 1778, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel David Rosseter's Third Berkshire County Regiment. October

14, 1780, he reentered service in the last named regiment, and served until October 21, 1780, on an alram to the Northward.

CAPTAIN (WILLIAM) DOUGLAS of Hancock, took enlisting orders at Jericho, according to a letter of Colonel John Paterson's dated Cambridge, June 13, 1775, but this regiment being full, Col. Paterson engaged that they should join Colonel Henshaw's Regiment.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM GOODRICH of Stockbridge commanded a company of Minute Men, containing thirty-two Indians, which marched in response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, from Stockbridge and Glass Works. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve in Colonel John Paterson's Twelfth Regiment, Provincial Army. He was one of the officers of this regiment who went to Quebec and was taken prisoner there. From March 1, 1777, he served as Major in Colonel John Paterson's Brigade, and received his commission June 26, 1777. From October 23, to November 7, 1780, he served as Major in command of Captain Enoch Noble's Company on the Bennington alarm.

CAPTAIN GIBBS. In a list dated May 26, 1775, signed by Colonel John Paterson, the name of Captain Gibbs appears with thirty-five men credited to his company. No other record of a Captain Gibbs in connection with this regiment has been found.

CAPTAIN INGERSOLL. In the above mentioned list there also appears the name of Captain Ingersoll but owing to the fact that this regiment was full he was to join Colonel Henshaw's Regiment.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL KILTON of Needham marched as Sargeant in Captain Aaron Smith's Company of Militia, Colonel William Heath's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. Five days later he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, and served through the year.

CAPTAIN JOHN McKINSTRY of Nobletown was a private in Lieutenant David Black's Company of South Hampshire County Regiment which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry in 1757. In December, 1760, he was an invalid on the Albany road returning from the West-William Shepherd's Company. From March 30 to November 1, 1762, he ward. From June 15 to December 1, 1751, he was a private in Captain served as a private under the last named commander, residence Blandford. In these last two records of service he is described as the son of John

McKinstry. May 5, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH MORSE (MOSS) of Natick, was the son of Captain David and Sarah (Dyer) Morse. He was born in Natick, Januery 1, 1739-40. March 7th, 1760 he enlisted as a private in Captain Jones's Company. From March 28th to December 4th, 1760, he was a Sergeant in Captain William Jones's Company. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a company of Colonel Samuel Bullard's Regiment, and five days later he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, serving through the year. During 1776, he was Captain in Colonel William Prescott's 7th Regiment, Continental Army. During 1777 he was Captain in Colonel Rufus Putnam's Fifth Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and from November 11, 1778 to December 15, 1779, the date of his death, he was Major in Colonel William Bradford's 14th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. His widow was allowed half pay to December 1786. See Massachusetts Magazine, Volume 1, Page 248.

CAPTAIN JEHOIAKIM MTOJHKSIN (MTOHKSIN) of Stockbridge, was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain William Goodrich's Company of Indians, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, April 23, 1775. He was called Captain in a list of recruiting officers of this regiment, dated July 15, 1775, said list being reproduced in IV Force II, page 1372. He was probably the man of the same name who served as a private in Captain David Pixley's Stockbridge Company, Colonel John Brown's Third Berkshire County Regiment in June and July, 1775.

CAPTAIN DAVID NOBLE of Pittsfield was a private in Captain Ezra Clapp's Company of the South Hampshire Regiment on the alarm at Fort William Henry in August, 1757. From August 6th to the 30th, 1759, he was in Captain John Bancroft's Company, Brigadier General Ruggles's Regiment. In July, 1771, he was Lieutenant in Captain Israel Stoddard's (Pittsfield West) Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. He built the school house in the Western district of Pittsfield, in 1765. He served on a partiotic Committee in Pittsfield before the Revolution. In April, 1775, as a resident of Westford he organized a Company of Minute Men in Pittsfield and led them on the news of the Lexington alarm. April 29, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Twelfth Regiment, Provincial Army. December 31, 1775, he

led a company belonging to Colonel John Paterson's Fifteenth Regiment, Continental Army from Pittsfield toward Boston, thence via New York to Canada. At Crown Point in June, 1776, he was taken with small-pox and died in the following month, having written home a long letter to his wife under date of July 1, 1776.

CAPTAIN PETER PORTER of Becket was probably the man of that name who was a resident of Berkley. He was a private in Captain Nathaniel Blake's Company from April 10th to November 8th, 1755. Travel was allowed him from Albany home. He was Captain of a Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775; service one month, one and one-half days, after which he returned home. May 3, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment. In December, 1776, he was a Captain in Colonel Samuel Brewer's Regiment. From April 26, to May 20, 1777, he again commanded a Company in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment. From July 10th to 25th, 1777, he was a Captain in Colonel John Brown's Third Berkshire County Regiment. From September 22nd to October 11, 177, he commanded a company in the same regiment on the Bennington alarm, and this company escorted 169 prisoners to Springfield. July 1, 1778, he was engaged as Captain in command of a detachment from General Fellows's Berkshire County Brigade, serving under Brigadier General Stark at Albany until his discharge, April 31, 1778.

CAPTAIN PRATT. This name appears on a list of officers in Colonel Paterson's Regiment, June 13, 1775.

CAPTAIN DAVID ROSSITER of Richmond was born about 1736. He was a Lieutenant in Captain Elijah Brown's (Richmond) Regiment, in Colonel William Williams's Regiment in July, 1771. He commanded a Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and served to May 22, 1775. January 30, 1776 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, First Major in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment, receiving his commission February 7, 1776. April 4, 1777, he was chosen by ballot, Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel John Brown's Third Berkshire Regiment. February 5, 1778, upon the resignation of Colonel Brown he was chosen Colonel in his stead. From October 12th to 24th, 1781, he served as Colonel in command of a detachment of militia raised to reinforce the Army under General Stark at Saratoga. He died in Richmond, March 8, 1818, aged 75 years. (a. 76, Gr. S.)

(*To be Continued*)

This is the fifteenth and last instalment of the series on Massachusetts Pioneers to Michigan.

MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS. MICHIGAN SERIES.

By Charles A. Flagg

Besides the abbreviations of book titles, (explained on pages 76, 77, 78 and 79 of April, and page 186 of July, 1908 issues) the following are used: b. for born; d. for died; m. for married; set. for settled in.

White, Wilson, b. 1770; set. N. Y. Jackson Port., 351.

Whiting, Bernice, m. William Park of N. Y. Saginaw Port., 636.

—— John, set. N. Y., 1815? St. Clair, 684.

—— William, set. N. Y., 1800? Saginaw Port., 636.

Whitman, Mahitable, b. 1817? m. Norton Gilbert of O. and Mich. Kent, 614.

Whitmarsh, Alvah, b. Cummington, 1796; set. N. Y., 1834, Ill. Lenawee Port., 1135.

—— Horace, of Cummington, set. Mich., 1832? Lenawee Hist. I, 352.

—— Nahum, of Cummington, set. Mich., 1832? Lenawee Hist. I, 352.

—— Samuel P., b. Springfield, 1831; set. N. Y., 1834, Ill., Cal., Mich., 1867. Lenawee Port., 1135.

Whitmore, Ada, m. 1845? George Hull of Ind. Osceola, 275.

—— Daniel, set. N. Y., O., 1825? Mass., N. J. Lenawee Hist. II, 251.

Whitney, Ami, b. 1781; set. N. Y., 1792. Hillsdale Port., 192.

—— David, Jr., b. Westford, 1830; set. Mich., 1856 or 1861. Wayne Chron., 444; Wayne Land., appendix, 203.

—— Deborah, b. Goshen, 1794; m. Ephraim Watkins of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 446, 589.

—— Edson L., b. Gardner, 1861; set. Mich., 1894. Northern M., 442.

—— Isaac, set. N. Y., 1800? d. 1817. Macomb Hist., 776.

—— J. H., set. Mich., 1870? Washtenaw Hist., 1237.

—— J. W., b. 1816; set. Mich., 1854. Saginaw Port., 646.

—— Joel, b. Conway; set. N. Y., 1785? Lenawee Port., 824.

—— John, 1812 soldier; set. Vt., 1820? Saginaw Hist., 750.

—— John, of Hancock; set. N. Y., Mecosta, 374.

—— John W., set. Mich., 1850? Osceola, 257.

Whitney, Jonathan, set. N. Y., 1792; d. 1794. Hillsdale Port., 192.

—— Mary, m. 1820? Samuel Brinton of Conn. and Mich. Branch Twent., 447.

—— Nathan B., set. Ill., 1850? St. Joseph, 85.

—— Richard H., b. 1808; set. Mich., 1831. Lenawee Hist. II, 393.

—— Willard S., b. Hancock, 1821; set. N. Y., 1835, Mich., 1868. Mecosta, 374.

—— William H., set. Mich., 1831. Lenawee Illus., 468.

Whiton, Sophia, b. Montague, 1799; m. 1824, Reuben Nims of Vt. and Mich. Macomb Hist., 833; Macomb Past, 219.

Whittaker, Nancy, b. Williamstown, 1788; m. William W. Johnson of N. Y. Isabella, 401.

—— S. A., of Lawrence; set. Mich., 1835. Hillsdale Hist., 220.

Whittemore, Betsey, m. 1825? William Farrar of N. Y. and Mich. Genesee Port., 898.

—— John, b. Salem, 1771; set. Vt., 1790? Lake Huron, 135.

—— John, b. Malden, 1824; set. N. Y., 1826, Mich., 1866. Kent. 1167.

WHITWOOD, Deodatus C., b. W. Stockbridge, 1813; set. Mich., 1836. Detroit, 1234.

WIGHT, Buckminster, b. Sturbridge, 1791; set. Mich., 1832. Wayne Chron., 166.

—— Henry A., b. Sturbridge, 1821; set. Mich., 1832. Wayne Chron., 170.

—— Stanley G., b. Sturbridge, 1825; set. Mich., 1832. Wayne Chron., 170.

WILBER, Laura A., b. Wrentham, 1815; m. Jehial M. Rush of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 189.

WILBUR, John, b. Adams, 1797; set Mich., 1835. Jackson Hist., 154.

—— Smith, b. N. Adams, 1785 or 1789; set. N. Y., O., 1834. Branch Port., 318; Hillsdale Port., 824.

WILCOX, Charles, set. N. Y., d. 1816. Branch Port., 449.

—— Harry, b. 1799; set. N. Y., Mich. Jackson Hist., 162.

WILCOX, Jennie E., b. Stockbridge; m. 1849 George E. Rice. Jackson Port., 727.

—— John, of Plymouth, set. N. Y., 1805. Berrien Port., 419.

—— Oliver, set. N. Y., O.; d. 1827. Berrien Port., 419.

——Orrin, set. N. Y., Mich., 1852. Genesee Port., 457.

WILDE, George E., b. Duxbury, 1850; set. Mich., 1884? Northern P., 206.

WILDER, Clark W., set. N. Y., 1810? Kalamazoo Port., 324.

—— Oshea, b. Gardner, 1782 or 1784; set. N. Y., Mich., 1831. Calhoun, 134; Homer, 25, 45.

WILKINS Esther, m. 1840? George C. Hayward of N. Y. Newaygo, 228.

WILKINSON, James E., b. Essex Co., 1857; set. N. Y., Mich., 1888. Muskegon Port., 419.

WILLARD, Lucy, b. Dalton or Worcester, 1780; m. 1807? Erastus Day of Canada, N. Y., and Mich., Macomb Hist., 695, 791.

—— Luther B., b. Cambridge, 1818; set. N. Y., 1832, Mich., 1835. Wayne Chron., 233.

—— Sallie, m. 1815? Joshua C. Upham of Vt. and O. Kalamazoo Port., 221.

—— Samuel, b. Lancaster, 1793; set. N. Y., 1794, Mich., 1837. Cass Hist., 337.

WILLIAMS, Alfred L., b. Concord, 1808; set. Mich., 1815. St. Clair, 122; Shiawassee. 159.

—— Alpheus, of Concord, set. Mich., 1815. Saginaw Hist., 194.

—— Alpheus, of Concord, set. Mich., 1815. Saginaw Hist., 194.

—— Alpheus F., b. Concord, 1812; set. Mich., Cal. Shiawassee, 159.

—— Benjamin O., b. Concord, 1810; set. Mich., 1815. St. Clair, 120; Shiawassee, 159.

——Caroline, L., b. Concord, 1806; m. Rufus W. Stevens of Mich. Shiawassee, 159.

—— Celia, b. Northbridge, 1856; m. —— Taylor. Isabella, 341.

—— Elisha, set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1836. Branch Twent., 469.

——Elizabeth, m. 1820? William Dewey of Vt. and Mich. Jackson Port., 495.

——Ephraim, S. (or J.), b. Concord, 1802; set. Mich., 1815. St. Clair, 124; Shiawassee, 159.

—— Erastus, b. Stockbridge; set. N .Y.; d. 1873. Kalamazoo Port., 217.

—— Gardner D., b. Concord, 1804; set. Mich., 1815. Saginaw Hist., 209; Shiawassee, 159.

—— Harriet L., b. Concord, 1814; m. George W. Rogers of Mich. and Cal. Shiawassee, 159.

—— Harvey, b. Concord, 1774; set. Mich., 1809. Saginaw Hist., 194.

—— Henry, b. Leverett, 1786; set. Vt., 1810? N. Y., 1827. Ionia Port., 215.

—— Jacob A., set. N. Y. Berrien Port., 703.

—— John, set. N. Y., 1838. Clinton Port., 504.

—— John D., b. Boston, 1819; set. N. Y., 1838; Mich., 1848. Clinton Port., 504.

—— Joseph R., b. Taunton, 1800; graduate of Harvard 1831; set. Mich., 1839. St. Joseph, 125.

WILLIAMS, Lucy, m. J. Hoadley of N. Y. Berrien Port., 520.

—— Mary, m. 1826 Fellows Gates of Canada and Mich. Ionia Port., 434.

—— Mary Ann, b. Concord, 1807; m. Schuyler Hodges of Mich. Shiawassee, 159.

—— Oliver, b. Roxbury, 1774; set. Mich., 1808 or 1815. Oakland Hist., 300; Shiawassee, 158.

—— Paul W., set. Mich., 1860? Isabella, 341.

—— Riley, b. Westfield, 1766; set. Vt. Lenawee Hist. I, 288.

WILLIAMSON, Britton, set. Mich., 1840? Mecosta, 194.

WILLIARD, Julia, b. Berkshire Co., 1815; m. 1st, Stephen L. Gilbert of O.; m. 2d, Marcus Van of Mich. Hillsdale Port., 753.

WILLIS, Lucretia, m. 1830? John Seaman of N. Y. and Mich. Newaygo, 214.

WILLIS, Richard Storrs, b. Boston, 1819; set. Mich. Detroit, 1104; Wayne Land., 858.

WILMARTH, Susan, b. Stockbridge; m. 1815? Charles De Land of N. Y. and Mich. Saginaw Port., 625.

WILMER, Nancy, b. Stockbridge, 1795? m. Ethan Brown of N. Y. Mecosta, 528.

WILMOUTH, Arbelia, b. 1795; m. Ansel Snow of Mass. and Mich. Kalamazoo Hist., 415; Kalamazoo Port., 866.

WILSON, Charles S., b. Springfield, 1819; set. Mich., 1838. Allegan Twent., 572.

—— Daniel, b. Berkshire Co., 1810; set. Mich., 1836. Branch Hist., facing 312.

—— David, b. Bellingham, 1766; set. Conn., 1776. Lenawee Hist. I, 398.

—— Martin, b. Norwich, 1794; set. Mich., 1838. St. Clair, 122.

—— Rebecca, b. Adams, 1799; m. 1822 Asa Hill of Mass., N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 317, 375.

—— Reuben, b. Berkshire Co., 1772; set. N. Y., Mich., 1835. Branch Hist., facing 312; Branch Port., 188.

—— Samuel, set. Vt., N. Y., Mich., 1838. Genesee Port., 655.

—— William J., b. Boston, 1866; set. Mich., 1871. Ionia Port., 564.

WINCHELL, Dennis, m. 1830? William Homes of N. Y. and Mich. Newaygo, 458.

WINCHESTER, Lucy, b. Petersham, 1807; m. Levi Babbitt of N. Y. and Mich. Jackson Port., 620.

—— Phebe, b Middlesex Co.; m. 1800? Jesse Stowell of Mass. and N. Y. Jackson Port., 275.

WING, Austin E., b. Conway, 1792; set. O., Mich., 1815? Monroe, 151.

—— Benjamin, b. Hardwick, 1774; set. N. Y., 1815? Mich., 1832. Washtenaw Hist., 870.

—— Benjamin, b. Hawley, 1832; set. Mo., 1869, Mich., 1875. Isabelle, 498.

—— Elijah, b. 1775; set. N. Y., 1814. Lenawee Hist. II, 265.

—— Elnathan, set. N. Y., 1810? Clinton Port., 774.

WING, Walden, b. Washington, 1814; set. N. Y., 1826; Mich., 1838. Lenawee Hist. II, 265; Lenawee Port., 947.

WINSHIP, Nehemiah, b. Lexington; set. N. Y., 1790? Genesee Port., 355.

WINSLOW, George W., b. Colerain, 1809; set. Mich., 1835. St. Clair, 119.

—— Sarah, m. 1830? Daniel McLaren of N. Y. and Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 816.

WITHERELL, James, b. Mansfield, 1759; set. Conn., 1783, Vt., 1788, Mich., 1808 or 1810. Detroit, 1132; Wayne Chron., 125, 275; Wayne Land., 287.

WITHINGTON, William H., b. Dorchester, 1835; set. Mich., 1857. Jackson Hist., 757; Jackson Port., 791.

WIXSON, Solomon; set. N. Y. 1790? d. 1812. Branch Port., 295.

WOLCOTT, Axa, m. 1810? Elijah Daniels of N. Y. Ingham Port., 733.

—— Jason B., b. Berkshire Co., 1787; set. N. Y., O., Mich. Hillsdale Port., 942.

WONSEY, Henry, set. Mich., 1825. St. Clair, 708.

WOOD, Abner B., b., 1784; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Ingham Port., 741.

Wood, Andrew, b. Middlebury, 1783; set. N. Y., 1793. Macomb Hist., 765.

—— Charles M., b. W. Brookfield, 1826; set. N. Y., Mich., 1845. Ingham Port., 415.

—— Cynthia, b. Cheshire, 1783; m. 1807, Henry Bowen, 2d, of Mass. and N. Y. Lenawee Hist. II, 195.

—— Isaac W., b. Westboro, 1844; set. Mich., 1872. Kent, 1175.

—— Jedediah, set. N. Y., 1803? Hillsdale Port., 404.

—— Joel, set. N. Y., 1824? O., 1847, Mich., 1882. Clinton Port., between 754 and 774.

—— Jonas B., set. N. Y., 1820? Muskegon Port., 514.

—— Levi, of Pelham; Revolutionary soldier; set. N. Y., 1803. Hillsdale Port., 404.

—— Louisa, m. 1810? Spencer Marsh of N. Y. Jackson Hist., 834.

—— Mehitable, m. 1815? Aaron Dunham of N. Y. and O. Lenawee Port., 992.

—— Susan B., b. Westfield, 1814; m. 1834 John Benson of Mich. Saginaw Hist., 940.

—— Timothy, b. Springfield; set. N. Y.? 1830? Saginaw Hist., 940.

Woodard, Jonas, b. Dana; set. Mich., 1831. Kalamazoo Hist., 429.

Woodbury, Abigail, b. Beverly, 1776; m. Ebenezer Fiske. Branch Port., 341.

—— George B., b. Sutton or Worcester, 1816; set. N. Y., Mich. 1837 or 1840. Grand River, 441; Muskegon Hist., 77; Muskegon Port., 124.

—— Jeremiah P., b. 1805; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Kalamazoo Port., 233.

—— Lydia, b. Salem; m. 1817 Curtis Brigham of Mass. and Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 361.

Woodcock, David F., set. N. Y., Mich. Berrien Port., 509.

Woodmansee, George, set. Mich? Gratiot, 608.

Woodruff, Harriet A., m. Albert C. Noble of N. Y. and Mich. Ingham Port., 859.

Woods, David, b. Shutesbury, 1777; set. Vt., 1800? N. Y., 1837. Jackson Port., 380.

Woodward, F. E., b. Millbury, 1813; set. Mich., 1839. St. Clair, 122.

Woodworth, John, b. 1775; set. N. Y. Lenawee Hist. II, 191.

Woolcott, Samuel, set. O., Mich. Berrien Port., 729.

—— Warren, set. O., Mich.; d. 1877. Berrien Port., 729.

Woolson, Asa b. Lunenburg, 1767; set. Vt. Bay Gansser, 501.

Worden, Clark, set. Mich., 1825. St. Clair, 725.

Worth, Richard, b. Nantucket; set. N. Y., 1780? Lenawee Port., 838.

Worthington, Henry, b. Agawam Corners, 1814; set. O., Mich., 1840. Berrien Twent., 429.

—— Henry, b. Springfield, 1815; set. Mich. Cass Twent., 89.

Wright B. W., b. Plympton, 1838; set. Mich., 1855. Houghton, 286; Northern P., 198; Upper P., 451.

—— Clarinda, m. 1825? Zebedee Phillips of N. Y. Ingham Port., 495.

—— David, b. Northfield; set. N. Y., 1800? Kent, 793.

—— Deodatus E., b. Williamstown, 1812; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836 or 1837. Gratiot, 623; Jackson Hist., 1020; Jackson Port., 593; Northern M., 373.

—— Emma H., of New Marlboro;; m. 1884 James W. Woodworth of Mich. Clinton Port., 884.

—— Ermina, m. 1815? Samuel Livermore of Mass. Saginaw Port., 481.

—— Frederick, b. Berkshire Co., 1785; set. N. Y., 1814 or 1824; Mich., 1836. Jackson Hist., 1020; Jackson Port., 593; Northern M., 373.

—— Jason K., set. Penn., 1840? Northern P., 207.

—— Joseph S., set. N. Y., 1835? Mich., 1870. Jackson Hist., 824.

—— Marcia, b. Wilbraham, 1791; m. Obed Edwards of O. Monroe, 476.

WRIGHT, Philander, b. Northampton, 1805; set. Wis. Kent, 638.

—— Sarah or Sally, b. Deerfield, 1795 or 1796; m. 1816 Joseph Woodman of N. Y., and Mich. Ionia Port., 352; Kent, 1406; Wayne Chron., 133.

—— Solomon, graduate of Williams college; set. Mich., 1837. Grand River, 165.

—— William, set. N. H., N. Y., 1815. Genesee Port., 897.

WYLLYS, Rufus, b. 1805; set. O., Ill., Mich., 1851. Hillsdale Port., 258.

WYMAN, Jonathan, b. Concord, 1769 or 1774; set. N. H., N. Y., 1804. Lenawee Hist. I, 290; Lenawee Port., 797.

—— Thomas, set. N. Y., 1825? Oakland Biog., 165.

YAW, Lydia, b. Berkshire Co., 1836; m. Daniel Harris of Mich. Berrien Port., 376.

YAW, Theodore, b. N. Adams; set. Mich., 1852. Berrien Twent., 796.

YOUNG, Henry, b. Martha's Vineyard; set. N. Y., 1800? Northern P., 439.

—— James H., b. Boston, 1798; set. Mich., 1830. Washtenaw Hist., 1411; Washtenaw Port., 468.

YOUNG, Joseph, set. N. Y., 1815? Shiwassee, 530.

YOUNGS, Curtis S., b. Lanesboro; set. N. Y., 1825? Mich., 1836. Branch Twent., 861.

It will be noted that few cross references have been used. Names are spelled in every case exactly as found in the records, with references made from one form of name to another only when both forms seem to be employed by the same individual.

It is assumed that the searcher will know the various spellings of a family name; such as Waterman and Watterman, Whitmore and Whittemore, Willis and Wyllys, etc. We know of no better guide to such variations than the Index to vols. 1—50 of the New England historical and genealogical register.

When this work was undertaken, every effort was made to find and index all the Michigan county histories in existence. Inquiries were made of the large libraries of Michigan and the libraires outside that seemed likely to have any considerable number of these books; and every work of this character possessed or known by these institutions was located and indexed. Still it is not strange that other works have come to our attention (a few of them published since our search).

The following have been noted and are listed in the same form as those on pages 1—5. It is needless to say they have not been indexed.

It may be added that the Library of Congress has made large additions to its collection of Michigan material and now possesses 70 of the works, indexed, lacking only *Jackson Port., Lake Huron, and Lansing.*

Alcona. History of Alcona Co. by Charles P. Reynolds, 1877. (No copy located).

Alpena. Centennial history of Alpena County . . . By David D. Oliver. Alpena, Mich, Argus printing house, 1903. 186p. (L. C.)

Genesee Biog. Biographical history of Genesee County. Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen & Co. [1908?]. 401p. (L. C.)

Grand Traverse. History of Grand Traverse and Leelanaw counties. By Sprague & Smith. B. F. Bowen & Co., 1903. 806p. (No copy located)

Gratiot Hist. Gratiot County, Michigan. Historical, biographical, statistical . . . Willard D. Tucker, Saginaw, Mich., Press of Seeman & Peters, 1913. 1353p. (L. C.)

Jackson DeLand. DeLand's history of Jackson County . . . by Col. Charles V. DeLand. [Logansport? Ind], B. F. Bowen, 1903. 1123p. (L. C.)

Leelanaw County, see GRAND TRAVERSE.

Lenawee Memoirs. Memoirs of Lenawee County . . . Richard I. Bonner. Madison, Wis., Western historical association, 1909. 2v. (L. C.)

Manistee Cent. Centennial history of Manistee County, containing addresses by Hon. John C. Blanchard and Hon. B. M. Cutcheon. (No copy located)

Manistee Hist. History of Manistee, Mason and Oceana counties. [Chicago, H. R. Page & co., 1882] 78, 154, 88p. (L. C.)
(Each county has special title page.)
Mason County, see *Manistee.*

Northern M. Bowen. Northern Michigan. Chicago, B. F. Bowen & co. 1905. (No copy located)

Northern M. Powers. A history of northern Michigan and its people by Percy F. Powers. Chicago, Lewis publishing company, 1912. 3v. (L. C.)

Northern P. Sawyer. History of the Northern peninsula. By Alvah L. Sawyer, 1911. (No copy located)
Oceana County see *Manistee.*

St. Joseph Biog. Biographies of St. Joseph County. Chapman bros., 1889. 609p. (No copy located)

St. Joseph Cutler. History of St. Joseph County . . . H. G. Cutler. Chicago and New York. Lewis publishing company, 1911. 2v. (L. C.

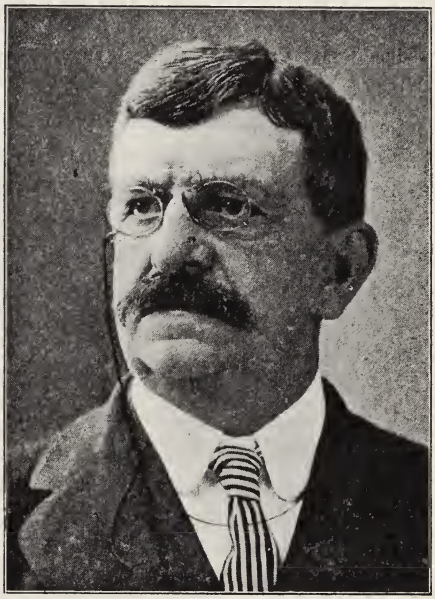
Wexford. History of Wexford County . . by John H. Wheeler. [Logansport, Ind.] B. F. Bowen, 1903. 557p. (L. C.)

JOHN N. McCLINTOCK

Albert W. Dennis.

John N. McClintock, one of the editors of the *Massachusetts Magazine*, died at his home in Dorchester, Mass., August 13, 1914.

Mr. McClintock was the son of Capt. John and Mary B. (Shaw) McClintock, born at East Winthrop, Me., May 12, 1846, the family removing to Hallowell, Me., two years later. He belonged to a sea faring family. His father followed the sea for more than half a century, and his grandfathers, Wm. McClintock and Wm. Shaw, and one of his father's brothers, were sailors. When about ten years of age, the boy John N., accompanied by his mother, made a voyage to London and Liverpool. This voyage was made in the ship "Dashaway," a half clipper of 1000 tons burthen, built for Capt. McClintock in the Hollowell ship yard.



John was a natural sailor. He learned the names of all ropes and different parts of the ship and equipment and without fear he would climb to dizzy heights. Although Capt. McClintock was a thorough seaman he had strong objections to any of his sons following in his footsteps. The father noted the aptitude of the son for nautical things and dreaded the possible outcome. He also noted the boy's desire to read and study. After considerable thought the father proposed to the son a course at college if he would agree not to go to sea. The son accepted and both stood by the bargain.

He was educated in the public schools, the old Hallowell Academy and Bowdoin College, graduating from the latter in 1867, ranking high in English and mathematics. Later he received the degree of A. M., from Bowdoin.

After his graduation he received an appointment in the United States Coast Survey and for eight years was engaged in geodetic and topographical surveys from Maine to Texas and on Lake Champlain. Upon leaving the Coast Survey he made his home in Concord, N. H., and engaged in general surveying until 1892 when he removed to Dorchester, Mass., where he was extensively engaged in surveying and laying out land.

While living in Concord, Mr. McClintock found ample opportunity to indulge his literary taste by editing and publishing the *Granite Monthly* in Concord, N. H., the *Bay State Magazine* in Boston, and writing a history of New Hampshire.

Soon after taking up his residence in Dorchester, Mr. McClintock associated himself with Amasa S. Glover of Brockton, who, a few years before, had discovered a new method of rendering sewage innocuous by a very simple treatment. This method Mr. Glover patented. Mr. McClintock took up the task first of introducing this new discovery and later of establishing the validity of the patent. While Mr. Glover's discovery was in a measure an accident and possibly the scientific cause which led to the destruction of the organic matter in sewage was unknown to him; he had in fact discovered the great modern method of "septic" action, or, stated differently, had found a way to set the bacteria which exist in sewage, to work converting the putrid wastes into their simple elements and rendering the once polluted water to a reasonably pure state. This method is now adopted by the leading engineers of the world but Mr. Glover did not live to be rewarded.

After Mr. Glover's death, Mr. McClintock became the owner of the Glover patent, and for many weary years undertook to establish his claim for recognition. His enthusiasm and thorough knowledge of the subject enabled him to get the support of some of the ablest lawyers and engineers in the country. He also succeeded in bringing men of means to his aid. The case was tried in the different courts until it finally reached the United States Court of Appeals, and Mr. McClintock, at the time he was struck with his fatal illness, was ready to deliver his own brief to the august Court of Appeals. So exhaustive had been his study of this subject that few engineers of the country were so well posted on the subject of sewage treatment. During the progress of this case he was paid the high honor of being permitted to argue his own case before the court and have it reopened when his lawyers thought it was finally settled.

Mr. McClintock married Miss Josephine Tilton of Concord, N. H., by whom he is survived. He also leaves a son, John Tilton McClintock, a

Boston architect, and a daughter, Mrs. Robert B. Bellamy, born Arabella Chandler McClintock, and a grand-daughter, Josephine McClintock Bellamy. He also leaves a sister, Mary Elizabeth McClintock of Readfield, Me., and two brothers, who are also well-known civil engineers.

One of his brothers, William E. McClintock, was eight years connected with the United States Coast Survey, ten years City Engineer of Chelsea, sixteen years connected with the Highway Commission of Massachusetts, during which time the state highway system was inaugurated. He is often spoken of as the father of good roads. He lectured twelve years on Highway Engineering at Harvard and was Chairman of the Board appointed by the Governor to govern Chelsea after the great conflagration of 1908. He is a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers and past president of the Boston Society of Civil Engineers.

The other brother, J. Y. McClintock, was at Bowdoin College one year, on surveys of Northern Pacific Railroad, Chief Engineer of Boston & Maine Railroad for a time. Before that he was on the work of extending their line from Berwick Junction into Portland, Superintendent of United Gas Company of Rochester, N. Y., City Engineer of Rochester, Commissioner of Public Works, Rochester, N. Y., County Engineer of Monroe County, N. Y.

Mr. McClintock was a devoted husband, a kind father and a loyal friend. His home was more than anything else to him, and those who ever enjoyed his hospitality never tired of coming under its influence again and often.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

Here and there, all over Massachusetts and New England, are many individuals whose lives link strangely with the past. At Winthrop lives a man, yet vigorous and active, who will be one hundred years of age in another year. His name is Daniel Hollinger and he has been a resident of this country since 1836, though born in Bavaria. He is a chemist and a 32nd degree Mason. His father was a soldier in the armies of Napoleon, and fought under him in the fateful battle of Waterloo.

There are yet living in Massachusetts scores, perhaps hundreds of men who spoke with Abraham Lincoln and clasped his hand. Judge Francis M. Thompson, of Greenfield, whose interesting reminiscences are running in the *Massachusetts Magazine* now, relates in earlier chapters, business dealings with the great Emancipator, both before and after his nomination for president. Judge Thompson's description of his first interview is interesting. He did not find him to be the uncouth rustic so often charged. But gentlemanly in manner, and pleasing in appearance This leads us to the thought that much written about Lincoln and commonly accepted as so, is not true. Albert E. Pillsbury, in his "Lincoln and Slavery," says: "All through the web of this life are woven threads of marvel and mystery. People read about Lincoln with a weird sense of the supernatural, of something apart from human affairs. They think of another Man of Sorrows, and the journey from the manger to the cross, the crime of Cain, the translation of Elijah. Nothing in human biography stirs the imagination like this. The man of history is already become the man of fable, and in some distant day learned doctors will dispute whether Abraham Lincoln was a real character or a hero of tradition, belonging in limbo with Romulus and King Arthur."

New England Genealogists are fortunate in the matter of publications prepared for their especial use. From the first appearance of "Durrie" down to the recent completion of the splendid "Index to persons" from

the first fifty volumes of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" there has been no lack of hand books, indexes, guides, bibliographies and reference lists making available the wealth of material in print.

There remain many things, however, which may yet be done to aid the never ending search. One of the genealogist's greatest perplexities is to follow the New England "Pioneers" who went to the great west in the early half of the last century. With no directories and no vital records to aid, many individuals are lost sight of entirely and the "line" ends with: he went West.

Mr. Charles A. Flagg, when in charge of American History at the Library of Congress, in Washington, discovered that in so called county histories, of which the West had a great many printed in the seventies (principally the production of men in Chicago and Philadelphia who published biographies and portraits at so much per head) a great deal of valuable genealogical material was contained, and he conceived the possibility of making complete index to all the names both genealogical and biographical to be found in these county histories.

Taking the State of Michigan as a unit he proceeded to compile such a list, covering men from Massachusetts who migrated to that State.

With the care and thoroughness characteristic of him in the preparation of his Guide to Massachusetts Local History, published in 1907, he has completed his task in this issue of the *Massachusetts Magazine*.

Indexing over 3,000 surnames of Massachusetts Men who went west, (not only to Michigan, but elsewhere, whenever mentioned in the Michigan books) the list should give many a valuable clue to both professional and private searchers, and be the means of "restoring many a lost branch to its proper place."

Very few of the seventy odd volumes included in this index are available in the great libraries of Massachusetts. The Berkshire Athenaeum of Pittsfield, the Essex Institute of Salem and the Public Library of Worcester had none at all: The State Library at Boston had one volume only and the Public Library and the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, two each. There may be a few more in other collections in the State but probably no considerable number. Among other libraries comparatively near are the New York State Library at Albany with 17 volumes and the Lenox branch of the Public Library

of New York City with 18. Of the total of 73 works listed, the Library of Congress now has all but 3.

We are all reading in the newspapers of today a great deal about "Billy Sunday," a revivalist, who is holding wonderful meetings in Philadelphia. Nearly two hundred years ago the American colonies were similarly stirred by the eloquence of a revivalist by the name of George Whitefield. It is said that with daring imagery and pathos he moved his hearers at will with every emotion of which human nature is susceptible.

The 27th day of December, 1915, was the 200th anniversary of Whitefield's birth. He was born in Gloucester, England, became associated with John and Charles Wesley while at college, became bishop and itinerant preacher. Four years after graduating he came to New England. His death occurred at Newburyport, Mass., Sept. 30, 1770, whence he had driven, after delivering a sermon lasting two hours, at Exeter, N. H., and he lies buried in Newburyport under the church on Federal Street.

Benjamin Franklin makes mention of his Philadelphia meetings in his autobiography:

"In 1739, arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was a matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them, they were naturally *half beasts and half devils.* It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street. . . I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved that he should get nothing from me. I had in my

pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all."

Francis Parkman, recognized today by the most competent critics as the best of all our historians, gave Boston five million dollars for her public parks, and gave his residence facing the common, on Beacon Street, as a permanent memorial and home for the Boston park supervisors. Dead less than twenty-two years, the Finance Commission and the Mayor propose to flout his munificence and insult his memory by selling his home, because they can get a good price for it—$70,000! The income from his $5,000,000 gives them annually about $200,000! Ye Gods!

At the mid-winter meeting of the Society of Colonial Families, in January, the following election of officers resulted: President, Dean George Hodges; secretary, George A. Smith; treasurer, Ernest A. Washburn; historian, Mrs. Anna L. Baily; national councillors, George B. Gallup, Arthur A. Gray, William A. Randall, John L. Porter, Edward D. Allen, Charles E. MacKusick, Frank E. H. Gary, Miss Susanna Willard, Mrs. Abbie M. Chamberlain, Newton C. Smith, Mrs. Lora A. Underhill, Mrs. Edith L. Wilson, Charles E. Slocum, Frank E. Shedd, Mrs. F. W. Page, Mrs. Myra B. Lord, Mitchell Wing, Miss Georgie M. Marston, Mrs. Edwin B. Miles, Earl G. Manning, Charles E. Lawrence, William H. Gove, Vernon A. Field, Gilbert W. Chapin, William D. Brigham, Gardner Bates, Charles W. Walker, William H. Foster, Miss Almira E. Simmons and James F. Chase.

With a parade, an elaborate program of exercises in Tremont Temple, and a dinner at the American House, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of General Joe Hooker was celebrated in Boston, November 13th. By the speakers he was referred to as "the most eminent soldier Massachusetts turned out in the civil war."

The Worcester Antiquarian Society elected the following officers at their annual meeting in October: President, Waldo Lincoln, Worcester;

vice-presidents, Samuel A. Green, Boston, and Andrew McFarland Davis, Cambridge; secretary for foreign correspondence, James P. Baxter, Portland; secretary for domestic correspondence, Charles Francis Adams, Lincoln; recording secretary, Dr. Charles L. Nichols, Worcester; treasurer, A. George Bullock, Worcester; librarian, Clarence S. Brigham, Worcester; councillors, Henry W. Cunningham of Boston, Clarence W. Bowen of New York, George P. Winship of Providence, Nathaniel Paine, Samuel S. Green, G. Stanley Hall, Samuel Utley, Arthur P. Rugg, Charles G. Washburn and Francis H. Dewey, all of Worcester.

Commenting on the Centennial anniversary of the peace treaty between England and the United States, in a recent sermon, Rev. T. D. Bacon of the North Unitarian church, Salem, said: "It is remarkable that there should have been nearly 4,000 miles of undefended frontier between us and British possessions, unmolested for all that time. It was a happy thought of John Quincy Adams to secure a treaty to that effect, and it has helped to keep relations more peaceful. But if each government had not had an almost boundless west into which to expand, it is very doubtful whether the result would have been altogether so happy."

The editors of the *Massachusetts Magazine* would like to correspond with persons who could compile an index to other important states, similar to that of Charles A. Flagg's, "Michigan Pioneers," completed in this issue.

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CHURCH TROUBLES IN YE OLDEN TIMES

By Rev. Thomas Fraklin Waters

Tradition has it that one day a stranger in Rowley, meeting the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, Pastor of the Church, inquired: "Are you the man that serves here?" "No!"answered the minister, "I am the man that rules here." It may be but a bit of olden gossip, but it is a wholly reliable illustration of the recognized place and power of the Puritan minister. He was a man of authority. When the famous Ipswich teacher, Rev. John Norton, summoned his people, old and young, to commit his catechism to memory and Thomas Scott was found unprepared, his case was taken at once to the Quarter Sessions Court, March, 1650, and he was bidden, under pain of a fine, to prepare himself for the next inquisition. At September court, "not appearing to make known that he had learned Mr. Norton's catechism," it was ordered that the fine be collected.

No tolerance found favor with the ministers. Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the minister of Ipswich, and, because of his legal training, the framer of "the Body of Liberties," declared himself beyond a shadow of doubt in his "Simple Cobler:"

"It is said That men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience and that it is persecution to debarre them of it; I can rather stand amazed than reply to this; it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance. Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the universall Ideot of the world."

Church of England man, clinging fondly to his prayer book and ritual,

Anabaptists conscientiously opposed to infant baptism, Mrs. Hutchinson with her philosophical vagaries, the Quaker, fanatical and frenzied in his opposition to the regular way, and every other who dared diverge a finger's breadth from the beaten path of doctrine and practise were Anathema, and they were summoned to the bar of Justice to receive the penalty that was due them.

The minister was friend and adviser of the Judges, and in that dark hour when the General Court faced the impending loss of the Charter of the Province, and with it all civil liberty and the whole foundation of civic life, they invited the ministers of Boston and the neighboring towns to meet with them, and having adjourned the session, gave themselves for hours to prayer. In every family, when sickness came, there seems to have been little reliance upon the chirurgeon with his simple nostrums and awful surgery, but there was great reliance upon the minister and his prayers. He knelt by the bedside of the dying infant. He went down to the Valley of Shadows with the men and women given over to his care. Major John Walley, one of the Judges of the Superior Court, was afflicted with severe pain in his foot. Judge Sewall records: "Major Walley has Prayer at his house respecting his Foot; began between 2 and 3 P. M. Mr. Pemberton, first, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Colman, Mr. Wadsworth, Dr. C. Mather. . . . Major Walley was easy all the time of the exercise. Had not one Twinging pain." (Decem. 3: 1711)

When he preached the Gospel, he looked down upon the whole community, parents and children, mistress and maid, prudential man, magistrate, and the man of rudest toil. He determined whether any man was worthy to be admitted to the church and as church membership was the essential condition of being a freeman, he held the civic privilege of every man in the hollow of his hand.

No wonder the Puritan minister magnifed his office and was jealous of his prerogatives. No wonder, too, that those who felt his power often spoke disrespectfully of the man and of his office and that unregenerate human nature often rebelled. Scandal ever loves a shining mark. In every community there was resistance, in one fashion or another, to the rule of the Puritan Church.

I know of no more accurate and comprehensive medium of information regarding the nature and extent of this ancient insurgency, than is

afforded by the records and files of the courts of that day. An endless procession passed before the magistrates charged with offenses in infinite variety. Sometime only the name, the offence charged and the penalty decreed appear, but frequently there are full depositions and minute records, and such revelation is made of the true life of churches and communities, that we hear again the sharp contentions, note the hot and bitter animosities, and discover much of jangling discord, marring the most solemn services and the holiest hours.

Rev. Thomas Cobbett, minister at Lynn and then for many years at Ipswich, faced slanderous detraction of his preaching. Mr. Walton of Lynn declared he "had as leave to heare a dog bark as to hear Mr. Cobbet preach," and in Ipswich the notorious Elizabeth Perkins vented her spleen against her husband's parents, brothers and sisters, "wishing they were all tied bak to bak that she might see them carried to the gallos, there to be hung," and then impudently charged Mr. Cobbett with gross immorality; and her husband presumed to say that "Mr Cobit was more fitt to be in a hog sty than in a pulpit." Both suffered for their rash and indecent slander, the woman being sentenced to stand in meeting, with a paper placard fastened upon her: "For reproaching ministers and her husbands natural relations."

Edmund Marshall of Manchester was presented in 1651 for absenting himself from the public ordinances three or four Sabbath days, and for reproaching Mr. Thomas Dunham, in saying that he had preached blasphemy and was a common liar. Some of the women of the Gloucester church were moved to extraordinary vituperation of Rev. Wm. Perkins. Mrs. Holgrave was presented in 1652, "for reproachful and unbecoming speech against him. . . . y^t if it were not for the Law shee would never come to the meeting the Teacher was so dead, & accordingly she did seldom come & withal persuaded Goodwife Vincent to come to her house on the Sabbath day & reade good books affirming that the Teacher was fitter to be a Ladyes Chamberman than to be in y^e pulpit." For this she was sentenced to publish in an audible voice her humble acknowledgement that she had done very sinfully.

Goodwife Vincent, poisoned it may be by Mrs. Holgrave, outdistanced her teacher a few years later by standing in the doorway of the meeting house, with arms spread, hand on each door post, and telling the teacher if he had come to teach her he had better leave his head behind. For

this she made apology, explaining that a few days before he had said: "If I come to teach here as long as there is an abler man in the Town, I will give you my head from my shoulders," saying what she did "out of the tenderness of her conscience."

Elizabeth, wife of John Legg of Marblehead, was very indiscreet in her talk regarding Rev. Mr. Walton in 1654, and the Court ordered that she take her choice between sitting half an hour in the stocks or making acknowledgment publicly, when called by the Constable: "I Elizabeth Legg, do acknowledge that I did evill and sinfull in speaking slitely and scornfully of Mr. Walton & In perticular In saying I could have a boy from the Colledg that would preach better than Mr. Walton for half y^e^ wages." Her repentance was formal and insincere, for she was guilty of other slighting speeches a few years later, saying that "if the people followed Mr Walton's Praying or ministrie they would all go to Hell;" and coming from meeting one Sunday, after Mr. Walton had reproved one that slept in meeting, she proclaimed, "Mr. Walton is a catch-pole." Thomas Coomes had his slur against Mr. Walton that he preached nothing but lies, and that he was a "Cheater and a cousener."

Ministers in general were the subject of the rasping charges of the wife of Thomas Oliver of Salem, who affirmed that they were blood-thirsty men, for which she was ordered to "come in the next Lord's day and publicly acknowledge that she had spoken sinfully and that she is sorry for it to satisfaction or else she is to be tyed to the whipping post and there be half an hour with a split stick fastened to her tong."

Vexed with these malicious gibes and sneers, which were matter of common talk in the community, the minister found often more serious trouble awaiting him in the meeting house on the Lord's Day. For several years there was sharp wrangling in the Lynn church regarding infant baptism. As new born babes generally were baptized on the first Sunday after their birth and as families were large, nearly every Sunday witnesesd this ordinance. As early as 1641, William Winter was presented for holding that "it is no ordinance of God" and that "it is a badge of the whore of Rome"; and for saying that Mr. Cobbett taught lieing against his own conscience. Thomas Patience not only held but fomented this error and "hindered his child from partaking of the ordinance." The Lady Deborah Moody and others held to this heresy and answered to it before the Court. William Gould, for his reproachful and unseemly speeches con-

cerning and against the rule of the church, was sentenced to sit in the stocks an hour and be severely whipped on the Lord's day (10mo 1642.)

But the trouble grew with years and Mr. Cobbett had many detractors, whose scandalous talk became more vehement. The same William Winter came to Court again in 1645, for saying that "they who stayed while a child is baptized doe worship the devil," and "when he was reproved by two brethren, he justified his former speech, and declared that they who stayed took the name of the Father, Son & Holy Ghost in vayne and broke the Sabbath." It remained, however, for a June Sabbath, in 1646, to witness the most determined outbreak. A child was presented for baptisim, and thereupon a half dozen or more arose and left the meeting house. As they went the Teacher desired the congregation to take notice of such as did withdraw themselves from this ordinance. One man replied that "he desired also that they should take notice that to him this child is no fit subject for the ordinance of baptism." The whole company were summoned into court and fined 2s. ½d. apiece.

The peace and quiet of worship at Rowley was disturbed by the disorderly conduct of one of the most prominent men of the Town, Mr. Henry Sewall, grandfather of the judge. Humphrey Reyner made deposition in Dec., 1650; "Mr. Shewell was walking in the foremost seate in the Meeting House in Rowlye neare the Pulpit and Mr. Rogers being present and ready to step into the pulpit to begin prayer said Mr. Shewell cease your walking, to which Mr. Shewell answered: You should have come sooner with more words to that purpose, but he not ceasing his walking presently our Pastor added these words: Mr. Shewell, remember where you are, this is the house of God, to which Mr. Shewell answered with a louder voice: I know how to behave myself in the house of God as well as you, with other words. Then our Pastor said, rather then that he disturbe the Congregation putt him out; to which Mr. Shewell replied Lett us see who dare. After this a Brother spake unto Mr. Shewell in a friendly way but Mr. Shewell with a sterne countenance and threatening manner said he would take a Course with some of us, and in many other words I doe not now remember." This hot tempered man disturbed the meeting again in 1651, with his contemptuous speeches to the minister and others in public meeting, and in 1654, went so far as to "hustle Mr. Jewet in a very offensive manner in the public assembly on the Lord's day."

Rev. Samuel Phillips succeeded Mr. Rogers in the pastoral office and in due time found himself in conflict with some very belligerent parishioners. The teacher, Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, was the immmediate occasion of the quarrel, which convulsed the church and the Town. A council of the neighboring churches was called in Nov. 1675 and it advised that Mr. Shepard be retained until the following May, and that he then go elsewhere. But the trouble was not settled. It was carried into Town meeting and eventually into Court. John Platt brought suit against Rev. Samuel Phillips, Philip Nelson also made complaint against the Pastor, and Daniel Wicome, one of the Selectmen, brought suit against John Pickard for saying that the Selectmen had betrayed their trust in safeguarding the Town's interest. Mr. Nelson's complaint throws much light upon some details of this contention. He declared that he was forced to complain against the Pastor by his threats to deal with him, "whereby I may at last come to be deprived of the communion of God's saints and the sweete and comfortable enjoiment of God in all his holy ordinances."

To prevent this, he declares that he has been accused of a breach of the 5th commandment, disobedience to superiors etc.; of the 8th commandment, robbing and stealing; and of the 9th commandment, being the principal cause of unhappy differences. "I therefore humbly present my shattered condition to your honorable protection." Notwithstanding his pitiful condition of spiritual desolation, the Court found, "that notwithstanding Mr. Philips hath used too high opposition, yet that in the main, Mr. Nelson hath transgressed the rules and therefore is advised to apply himself to give due satisfaction to Mr. Philips and to bear the costs and charges of the hearing of the same."

Two years later, it is very evident that the Pastor was not leading his flock by the still waters. Some aggrieved parishioners again had resort to the Law. Their complaint recites: "being at Rowley meeting the last Lord's day in the afternoon, after sermon and prayer were ended and the blessing concluded, Mr. Philips stayed the congregation and informed them that sundry persons had made their complaint against him to authority, and signified to the congregation that the said persons had borne false witness against him." Apparently he called Ezekiel Northend, Daniel Wicome and others by name. The Court heard the case and found its verdict: "The Court cannot but adjudge the sd Mr. Phillips to have spoken concerning the sd. witnesses unadvisedly and very injuriously, to their

great reproach & discouraging of witnesses in cases of like nature, which ought not to be permitted, doe therefore sentence the sd. Mr. Philips for the sd. offence to pay as a fine to the County £5 and the charge of the complainants and witnesses and fees. And whereas the sd. Mr. Philips by sufficient testimonie is charged with reflecting and reproaching authority, which he notwithstanding doth peremptorily deny & is ready to testifie by witness against all such speeches, the Court having no small regard to his protestation, doe sentence him only to be admonished and to pay the cost of ye witnesses and fees."

Such bitter discord would be fatal to a pastorate of to-day, but the ancient tenure of the minister was so secure that even the most determined opposition could not unseat him as long as a majority was loyal. Mr. Phillips continued in the pulpit until his death. One episode of later days is on record. John Tod, Senior, a tavernkeeper, was presented for opposition to the keeping of a fast. Daniel Wicome testified that "when Mr. Phillips Red the Order of the President & Councill for keeping the public fast on 14th of instant, John Tod Sen^{r} stood up and made answer & desired that the fast might be put of for . . . they had no great nede of Raine and said it might be as well put of to Thursday come seavennight." The Fast to pray for rain was held notwithstanding and the tavern keeper's affront may be reflected in the conduct of his son Samuel, who was presented at the same Court, which tried Mr. Tod Senior for opposing the keeping of the Fast, for refusing to go to meeting on the Fast day and going pigeon shooting.

In Old Newbury, the pastor, Rev. Thomas Parker, and Mr. Woodbridge, the teacher, suffered much. John Tillison's scandalous and reproachful speeches cast upon the elders in a public church meeting upon the Lord's day (Oct. 1650) could be borne with measurable patience, for he was a violent and abusive man who was guilty of abusing his wife on the Sabbath, throwing a bowl of water on her while sick in bed, and chaining her leg to the bed post with a plow chain to keep her in doors. (1656.) But the sting of Mr. Edward Woodman's venom must have rankled deep in their hearts. His written petitions to the Court reveal his intellectual keenness and his fine literary gifts, but he was a veritable thorn in the flesh to the reverend elders.

He appeared in Court for the first time in March 7: 1669, on complaint of several of the men of the church, to answer to the charge of offensive

language in Town meeting against Mr. Woodbridge, saying that he was an "Intruder, brought in by craft and subtilty and kept in notwithstanding he was voated out twice." But against the Pastor, Mr. Parker, he brought the ponderous charge of ecclesiastical heresy: "An apostate, a backslider from the Truth, that he would set up a Prelacy and have more Power than the Pope, for the Pope had his council of Cardinals, that his preaching or acting did not tend to peace or salvation, and that he was the cause of all the contention and miserie." These were the weapons of his assault.

This Presbyterian Shibboleth was the theme of gossip in an Ipswich household one day at least when the Worshipful Mr. Richard Saltonstall, first citizen of the Town, dropped in for a little chat about the latest news, and it may have found lodgment in other communities, but so far as the Essex County Court Record shows it was localized in Newbury. Evidently there was a strong minority in this church, headed by the redoubtable Woodman. John Webster, a lesser light, read a paper on the Lord's day in 1669, bringing charges against the pastor and brethren, and in 1671 Woodman's opposition had become so bitter that Mr. Parker's friends carried the matter again into Court. Fifty-one of the original papers presented in that trial are preserved, declarations of the various parties, records of the ecclesiastical council which had been called in a vain endeavor to attain peace, minutes of church meetings, and communications which passed between the contending factions. One of the most interesting is the "Request" presented by Mr. Woodman and the brethren with him to the council, held on April 9, 1670, and presumably written by him: "We have spent 25 years & more," it declares, "in uncomfortable and unprofitable contention and division whereby God hath been much dishonored, Religion much disadvantaged, our Souls much impoverished and our credit as a church much impared, defaimed through the Country for an unquiet people & irreconcilable by the long continuance of our difference & dissention & now of late the cry hereof hath bin more loud in the ears of the churches than in the former times."

Mr. Woodman had withdrawn from the church. His factious minority had rent the church in twain. The Court found them all guilty and sentenced them all to pay fines, ranging from 20 nobles, Mr. Woodman's fine, to 13s. 4d.

During this quarter century of strife over the Presbyterianism of Mr.

Parker, some single episodes of most piquant character were interjected. The pews had been built to some extent in the year 1669 and the old variance relative to seating the meeting took on a new phase, when Goody Randall, coming into meeting, refused to sit in the seat appointed her. A better one was given but she was still rebellious and persisted in "climbing, rideing or striding" over the pews, being four or five foot high and to force the door upon the proprietors thereof." It was in the same unhappy Newbury, I think, that Goodie Wolfe came in and edged in to the seat where Goodwife Stackhouse sat against a pillar and as Dame Stackhouse did not or could not move, Goody Wolfe stood up before her a good while, then knelt down in the seat awhile, rose up again, then sat down on Goodwife Stackhouse's lap a little while, rose up again, and this continued until the persecuted woman's husband was called and helped her out of the meeting house. But excitement reached its highest pitch on a Lord's day, March 31, 1663, when Lydia Wardwell, wife of Eliakim, came naked into the meeting house, as a sign and token of the spiritual nakedness of the time. She was a Quaker and her method was characteristic of the Quakers of her day. The amiable mildness of George Fox and William Penn was not affected by Essex County Quakers.

They were most numerous in Salem apparently and Rev. John Higginson was assailed by them in virulent fashion. The wife of Nicholas Phelps charged that "he sent abroad his woolves and his bloodhounds amongst the sheep and lambs and that the priests are deceivers of the people." Joseph Gatchell called Mr. Higginson, "one of Halloe's Priests" and said, "he halloed like a hare, that the ministers preached nothing but damnation, and that which they called the Scripture was not the Scripture but the sayings of men." "A parcel of persecuting dogs," he styled the ministers of New England. "As for himself he was a Singing Quaker." When Mr. Higginson was ordained, John Smith, presumably a Quaker, cried out, "What you are going about to set up Our God is pulling down." Robert Wilson's wife made her protest against the spiritual deadness by "going through Salem without any clothes on." (1662). Jeremiah Rogers, a Salem wheelwright, refused to pay his ministerial rate in 1689, and when he was summoned to make payment by the constable, he broke forth into railing discourse concerning the Bible, that "it was not the word of God, but the word of the ass, the foole and the divell, and further said he would prove it."

To the church in Topsfield, a singular series of very unusual troubles must have brought despair as well as tribulation. In 1656, a Topsfield man went to Court to answer to the charge of "reviling in reproachful language the ordinance of God and such as are in church fellowship, saying when some were together keeping a day of humiliation that they were howling like wolves, and lifting up their paws for their children, saying the gallows were built for members and members children, and if there had been no members of the churches there would have been no need of gallows." Zaccheus Gould "in time of singing the Psalm on Sabbath sate down on the end of the table about which y^e^ minister and scribes of the people sit with his hat full on his head and his back toward all the rest who sat about the table and although spoken to by ministers & others altered not his posture." (March 1659.)

Rev. Thomas Gilbert's pastorate with the Topsfield church was an unfortunate experience, fraught with the most unusual and inexcusable troubles. Mr. William Perkins appeared in the open Court the 28th of March, 1666-7, and publicly exhibited a complaint or accusation against him in 27 particulars, "for that in public prayers and sermons, at several times he uttered speeches of an high nature reproachful and scandalous to the king's majesties & his government." He was summoned into Court the next day. "The Court apprehending the case to be extraordinary both in its nature and tendency without president in this country and no Laws have provided against such offences," bound him over in £1000 bond to the next General Court.. Shortly after, Mr. Perkins brought two complaints of defamation of character against the minister, one of which was withdrawn, the other decided for the defendant.

In May, 1670, the minister's love of wine involved him and his people in severe contention. Sarah Gould testified in Court that one Sacrament day, when the wine had been brought from the meeting house and poured into the golden cup, Mr. Gilbert drank most of it. He was overcome by it. He sank down in his chair, forgot to give thanks, and sang a Psalm with very lisping and unintelligible utterance. He went to the afternoon service but arrived so late that many went away before his coming. He went to prayer and as Thomas Baker testified, "I perceived that he was distempered in his head, for he did repeat many things many tymes over, in his prayer he lisps and when he had don to prayer, he went to singing & read the Psalm so as it could not be well understood, and when he had

done singing he went to prayer again, and when he had done he was going to sing again, but being desired to forbear used these expressions: I bless God I find a great deal of comfort in it, and came out of the pulpit he sd. to the people I give you notis I will preach among you no more."

Stretching their charity to the very utmost, we must believe, the magistrates did not find against him, but saw cause to counsel and admonish him. His wife then testified that his conduct was due to a distemper that came upon him sometimes when fasting and in rainy weather. In April, 1671, he was before the Court again, charged with many reproachful and reviling speeches against the Court and divers other persons, his auditors, both in his sermons and prayers. The Court adjudged him to be sharply admonished, "to forbeare to vent such his distempers to the scandal of persons & dishonor of God & prophanation of his ordinances. And if he shall find himself unable to demean himself more soberly and Christianly, as became his office, they do think it more convenient for him to surcease from y^e^ exercise of any public employment."

Mr. Gilbert refused or was unable, from extreme instability of character, to profit by this severe but kindly admonition. His long suffering people again appeared in Court on Sept 27th (1671) with a plain statement of very disagreeable facts:

> "the 23d of April having bin by y^e^ Court censured for sundry miscarriages in which censure Religion yea Reason mite have perswaded a wise man to have submitted and to have let his infamy have died by degrees yet not content with y^e^ Court sentence he by papers affixed to y^e^ meeting house door deserted his office left y^e^ Congregation and church for three Sabbaths destitute refused to com to or to sufer y^e^ church to come to treat with him about his disorderly abdication of the ministry . . . he has often upbraided the church in pulpit, in preaching & prayers affirms his innocence names some by their proper names John Thomas Thomas John.
>
> Wherefore we humbly Request y^r^ Humble Worships Justice for y^e^ freeing of us from such an intollerable burden and vexation.
>
> John Gould & others."

The pastoral relation was sundered but at the same Court, Mr. Gilbert brought three suits against Mr. Gould, one for slander, one for defaming

him, and a third for threatened assault and battery. In the last, the Court found for the minister. Ensign Gould, in turn, brought suit against Mr. Gilbert for slander in behalf of his wife and won his case.

Rev. Jeremiah Hobart succeeded Mr. Gilbert and succeeded as well in walking in his footsteps, so that he became a familiar figure in the Courts, because of non-payment of salary, for cursing and swearing, and for a damaging suit for slander, which he gained, though the witnesses testified in detail to the most discreditable conduct on his part. Even his brethren in the ministry were forced to upbraid him, and Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich made complaint against his reproachful and scandalous speeches against the elders and churches, who participated in a council, convened to consider the troubles of his church.

The annals of the Court reveal no such deep-rooted and violent upheavals of the peace of the church in Ipswich. No doctrinal heresy seems to have invaded that illustrious pulpit. No protest against Presbyterian leanings was ever voiced and only a few low mutterings against infant baptism. But singularly enough, there were many disorders of another sort, of trivial weight compared with those which have engaged us, but very annoying to preacher and congregation, and in accordance with the manner of the time, they were settled in Court.

That rigid method of seating the meeting was responsible for most of them. To give due honor to the magistrates and people of wealth and standing, these gentle folk and their wives were assigned their places on the seats or benches nearest the pulpit and with strict downward gradation of social standing. All the rest of the men and women were seated farther and farther back toward the rear of the meeting house and in the galleries. Inevitably, the young men and boys, loving mischief and always alert for an opportunity, were set together in long rows, one behind another. Women and girls had their seats in the less desirable locations. The service droned slowly along; many in the congregation, obliged by the Law to attend, had no interest in the exercises, and many were incompetent to understand the weighty discourse. Naturally there were acts of disorder.

Hot-tempered lads had altercations which led to blows. Young Stephen Cross, who grew to be a quarrelsome and belligerent man, struck another in sermon time on a lecture day and brought blood to his mouth. Edward Cogswell, a lad of some sixteen years, provoked the lad in

front of him, pulling his new hat, telling him he was such a pretty fellow he didn't need such adorning and the like, and Thomas Bragg at last landed a blow upon his tormentor's nose with dire effect. The same Cogswell lad, as witness testified, was idle in sermon time, "going from one galerie to another, very idle with a stick in his hand, going from seate to seate, talking and laughing with boys." (1670.)

Complaint was made against Thomas Mentor in 1673, "that he carried himself very irreverently and most unchristianly upon the Sabath days in the time of worship,

> by setting with his hat upon his head in the time of prayer,
>
> by taking of maids by the aprons as they came in to the meeting house in the time of worship,
>
> by putting his hand in their bosoms and then taking or snatching away their posies or flowers,
>
> by laughing and allmost all the time of worship whispering with those that are like himself, and also with very little boys to the ill example of youth, and these the said Mentor has ordinarily done and practised the most of the Sabaths of this year." (Sept. 1673.)

Richard Pasmore was charged with similar offences. Three young fellows were presented for laughing and spitting in one another's faces, pricking one another in the legs, pulling boys off their seats, and "heaving things into the other gallery among y^{e} garls, that sit there & Braking y^{e} glass windows." (May 1674)

Elizabeth Hunt, wife of Samuel, made frequent disturbance by her repeated shuffling against the chair of the daughter of her neighbor, so that the girl could hardly save herself from falling to the floor; and one Sunday Thomas Knowlton, Jr., made a bad matter worse by calling out on the Lord's day in prayer time: "Take notis of Goodwife Hunt, that makes disturbance there." For this, Knowlton was sentenced to stand in the meeting house on the next lecture day with a paper on his breast, written, "for disturbing y^{e} meeting" all the lecture time and pay costs & fees. (Mar. 1674)

Every minister was troubled by those who slept in time of worship, and the congregation as well, in all probability, for sleeping leads to snoring, and when the snoring of sleepers was added to the whispering and laughing, shuffling of feet and walking about, the prayer and sermon

must have been greatly disturbed. But our sympathy goes out to the sleepers. Cotton Mather entered in his diary on a Thanksgiving day in 1705-6, "for the smile of Heaven on the arms of the allies against France in the year past:"

"On this day, as on some other such, my public Addresses to Heaven were carried on with much Fervour and Rapture. For the best part of two hours together, my soul kept soaring and flaming toward Heaven in the wondrous praises of God."

What an unutterable paean of thanksgiving went up from many in the "vast assembly" of which he often speaks, when his prayer was done! On Aug. 22: 1706, he wrote "on the Lord's day, I was engaged in almost continual speech from two o'clock to nine, three hours of it in a vast assembly, two hours of it with the young men in the evening."

Given an August Sunday, a man weary with his week's work, and three hours of praying and preaching on a stretch, a nap or a sound refreshing sleep was both a necessary corollary and a welcome deliverance. But the sleeper was not allowed full enjoyment. Sometimes the minister rebuked him as Mr. Walton of Marblehead did, and the minister at Manchester, and his more wakeful neighbor may have shaken the sleeper and roused him to shamefaced reception of his rebuke. In some congregations, an official appointed to this task or one of the tithing men walked about to discharge his duty.

A book entitled "Truth Held Forth and Maintained," published in Salem in 1695 by Thomas Maule, who had been whipped years before for saying Mr. Higginson preaches lies and a doctrine of devils, was sup pressed by order of Court. Mr. Felt in his Annals of Salem quotes from it:

"In the church of Salem the women in time of service have their faces covered with a vail, which practise did not many years continue, and when this practise was laid aside, they had for their more order in their church to keep people from sleeping, a man that wholly tended with a short clubbed stick, having at one end a knop, at the other a fox tail, with which he would strike the women's faces that were drowsy to sleep, and with the other end knock unruly dogs and men that were asleep." Inveterate sleepers were haled to Court as well and fined.

The long Psalm lined by the leader and sung by the Congregation furnished occasion for mishap and mirth. Judge Sewall, Precentor of the

old South Church in Boston, makes frequent mention of these disturbing episodes. Under Dec. 28: 1705-6, he notes, in his Diary: "Mr. Willard spoke to me to set the tune. I intended Windsor and fell into High Dutch, and then essaying to set another tune, went into a key much too high. So I prayed Mr. White to set it, which he did well, Litch f. Tune. The Lord humble me and instruct me that I should be occasion of any Interruption in the Worship of God."

Under July 5: 1713, "At the close apoint 1½ staff in the first part 40th Ps. I tryed to set Low Dutch tune and fail'd. Try'd again and fell into the tune of 119th Psalm, so Capt. Williams read the whole first part that he might have Psalm to the Tune."

On Feb. 6: 1714-5. "This day I set Windsor tune and the people at the 2nd going over run into Oxford, do what I could. On Lord's Day, Feb. 23, 1717-18, I set York tune and the Congregation went out of it into St. David's in the very 2nd going over. They did the same three weeks before. This is the 2nd sign. I think they began in the last line of the first going over. This seems to me an intimation and call for me to resign the Precentor's Place to a better Voice. I have through the divine Long-suffering and Favour done it for 24 years and now God by his Providence seems to call me off, my Voice being enfeebled. . . . Mr. Prince said, Do it six years longer. I persisted and said that Mr. White or Mr. Franklin might do it very well. The Return of the Gallery where Mr. Franklin sat was a place very convenient for it." More summary warning that he had reached the end of his public musical career was at hand. On Lord's Day, March 5, 1720-1.

"Just as I sat down in my seat one of my Fore-teeth in my under Jaw came out and I put it in my pocket. This old servant and daughter of musick leaving me, does thereby give me warning that I must shortly resign my head. The Lord help me do it cheerfully."

The slanderous charge was made against Rev. Seth Fletcher of Wells that on the Sabbath, when he had set the Psalm, while the people were a-singing, he did take tobacco in the public meeting-house, and while he was preaching, the people in turn, took theirs.

A singular penchant for libellous documents often roused indignation or mirth, and brought severe penalty upon the offender. Joseph Rowlandson, in later life the minister of Lancaster and victim of the historic Indian assault, which brought such incredible hardship to his wife, while a student at Harvard, affixed to the door of the Ipswich meeting house a

lengthy deliverance in poetry and prose, in which he paid his respects to the authorities. He was severely disciplined and was obliged to read a humble apology, but the sensation that prevailed preoccupied the minds of every worshipper.

A graceless young rhymester of Ipswich availed himself of the completion of a gallery in 1671, in which the women had seats, as the occasion of a scandalous poem of a dozen verses, which was copied and handed about secretly with great gusto, we may believe, by those who take delight in such coarse and malicious horse-play. It was dedicated.

"O ye brave undertakers & gallery makers,"

and concluded his calumnious rant against the wares of the coopers, the carpenters, the sailors, the tanner and all the rest with a refrain:

"Set aside Mrs. Kindrick, goode Rust
Mother Woodward & Ann.
Pray find me such three
againe if you can."

The wonder is not that two aggrieved and indignant husbands instantly brought complaint against the two culprits involved, but that so little serious account of such gross libel was made in the Courts.

As we review the many disorders and disturbances that have been noted, and reflect that these were only the most violent, and that an innumerable series of lesser moment was always happening; as we recall the common adjuncts of the weekly lecture, the exposure of criminals on high stools with the tale of their infamy written upon them, the reading of apologies for many misdeeds, the presence of murderers in chains prior to their execution, to be preached at by the minister, and then delivered over to the hang man to be executed in the presence of the whole community; the common sight, as the worshippers left the meeting house, of misdoers in limbo, sitting in the stocks, tied to the whipping post, or with rope round their neck and thrown over the gallows tree, we must believe that there was less sensitiveness, less sympathy, less annoyance at irreverence, lower standards of good conduct, amid that environment of stern legalism, or else that there was constant wounding of delicate sensibilities, and the perpetual recoil of tender hearts from the grossness of word and act with which they were always in painful contact.

COLONEL JOHN PATERSONS' REGIMENT

Colonel John Paterson's Minute Men's and militia Regiment, April 19, 1775.
Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, May-June 1775.
Colonel John Paterson's 26th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, July-December, 1775.

By Frank A. Gardner, M D

(Continued from No. 1, Vol. VIII)

CAPTAIN SAMUEL SLOAN of Williamstown commanded an Independent Company of Minute Men which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Twelfth Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served under Colonel Paterson through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Fifteenth Regiment, Continental Army. From October 11th to 28th, 1781, he was Captain of a Company in Colonel Asa Barns's Regiment f roservice under General Stark on the alarm at Saratoga. "General Samuel Sloane died in Williamstown, April 12, 1813, in his 73rd year."

CAPTAIN STRONG was mentioned as belonging to this regiment, June 13, 1775, but as it was full, agreed to join Colonel Henshaw's.

CAPTAIN NATHAN WATKINS of Partridgefield (Peru) was the son of Andrew Watkins, and was born in Hopkinton in 1739. As a resident of Hopkinton he served as a private in Captain Benjamin Wood's Company from October 29 to December 13, 1755. From March 12th to November 17th, 1757, he was a centinel in Captain John Burke's Company. From March 31st to May 23rd, 1758, he served in Captain Cox's Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men. May 5, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Twelfth Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under that commander. During 1776, he was Captain in Colonel Edmund Phinney's Eighteenth Regiment, Continental Army. Reported re-engaged Novem-

ber 13, 1776, in Colonel Brewer's Regiment. In the muster roll dated Fort George, December 8, 1776, he was reported sick in the barracks. From January 1st to September 8th, 1778, he was a Captain in the 12th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, under Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Carleton and Ebenezer Sprout On the latter date he was reported a supernumerary officer and deranged, "on account of being absent a prisoner." The records show that he had been taken prisoner July 7, 1777, and October 24, 1777, he was listed to be exchanged for Captain Bloomfield of Royal Artillery. October 13 to 19, 1780, he served as a private in Captain William Fletcher's Company, Colonel Benamin Symonds's Berkshire County Regiment.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WILLIAMS of Stockbridge, was the eldest son of Doctor Thomas Williams of Deerfield, and brother of the founder of Williams College. He was born May 5, 1746. He studied law with Colonel Hopkins of Great Barrington, and commenced the practice of law in Stockbridge with fair prospects of success; but at the opening of the Revolutionary War he organized a company of Minute Men which marched as a part of Colonel Paterson's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to hold the same rank in Colonel Paterson's Twelfth Regiment, Provincial Army. He served under that command through the year. He was one of those who volunteered to follow Arnold up the Kennebec, and was in Colonel Enos's division. On reaching the Dead River the men of this Division of the invading forces were compelled to turn back on account of absolute lack of provisions. January 19, 1776, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Elisha Porter's Regiment of Hampshire and Berkshire men, organized to reinforce the army in Canada. He died on his way, at Skenesborough, now Whitehall, July 10, 1776, at the age of thirty.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WYMAN of Roxbury, was probably the man of that name, who in 1760, at the age of twenty-two, residence Boston, enlisted for service in Canada. April 23, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, and served through the year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSIAH ARNOLD of West Stockbridge, held that rank in Captain William Thomas's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. He served under this command twenty-five days. May 3, 1776, he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Increase Hewins's Com-

pany, in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment. December 16, 1776, he enlisted in Captain Amos Rathburn's Company in the last named Regiment. May 1, 1777, his company was detached from the Berkshire County Militia to reinforce the Continental Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT MOSES ASHLEY of Hartwood, was the son of Moses and Sarah (Taylor) Ashley, and was born in Westfield, June 16, 1748. He graduated from Yale College in 1767, and with his father removed to Hartwood (now Washington) in the Spring of 1772. In the "Ashley Genealogy" it is stated that he was appointed an Ensign in the militia soon after his arrival in the last named place, and that he was sent to represent the town of Stockbridge, July 6, 1774. In response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Peter Porter's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment. May 5, 1775, he enlisted in the same regiment and was commissioned Ensign, May 27, 1775. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Joseph Vose's 1st Regiment, Massachusetts Line. July 28, 1780, he was commissioned Major in Colonel Major Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. January 1, 1783, he was transferred to Colonel Benjamin Tupper's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and served to June 12, 1783. He died in Lee, Massachusetts, August 25, 1791. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN BACON of Needham was a Sergeant in Captain Aaron Smith's Company, Colonel William Heath's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, serving five days. April 24, 1775, he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Kilton's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM BOWDOIN was commissioned May 27, 1775, Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Morse's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SAMUEL CHAPIN of Springfield, was the son of Elisha and Miriam (Ely) Chapin. He is mentioned as holding this rank in Captain William Wyman's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, May 27, 1775, at which time his com-

mission was ordered to be delivered. He served through the year under the same Colonel. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Ensign in Colonel William Shepherd's 4th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, holding that rank ten months, when he was promoted Lieutenant. In 1779 his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain Simon Learned's Company, Colonel Shepherd's Regiment. May 20, 1779, he was Lieutenant in Colonel Henry Jackson's Regiment. He was a member of Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM CLARK of Gageborough, held that rank in Captain Nathan Watkins's Company of Minute Men, which marched from Gageborough and Partridgefield, on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve under the same Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served until his discharge, September 9, 1775. May 3, 1776, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment. He served as Captain in the same Regiment on an alarm in July and August, 1777, and again in April, 1778, and also in October, 1780.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN CUMPSTON of Saco (also given Pepperellborough) was in Theodore Bliss's Company, having enlisted May 3, 1775. He served through the year, and went with the contingent to Quebec.

FIRST LIEUTENANT THOMAS NICHOLS held that rank in Captain Asa Barnes's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775.

FIRST LIEUTENANT DAVID PIXLEY of Stockbridge, was probably the son of David Pixley. His name appears in the above rank in the list of Captain William Goodrich's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve under the same officer in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and probably served through the year. In 1777 he was Captain of the Stockbridge Company in Colonel John Brown's 3d Berkshire County Regiment, serving twenty-seven days with the Army of the Northern Department.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ZEBADIAH SABIN of Williamstown, was the son of Hezekiah and Zerviah (Hosmer) Sabin, and was baptized in Pomfret, Connecticut, January 23, 1736. May 5, 1775, he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Sloan's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. He probably served through the year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EBENEZER SMITH of Richmond, was First Lieutenant in Captain David Rossiter's Company of minute men, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which marched in response to the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775. Permission was granted him in May, 1775, to return home.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SIMEON SMITH of Lenox was a private in Captain John Burke's Company in March and April, 1756. From April 14th to January 3, 1758, as a resident of Montague, he was a private in Colonel William Williams's Regiment. In the following year from April 6th to November 30th he was a private in Captain John Clapp's Company on an expedition to Crown Point. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Charles Dibble's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve in that rank under the same Captain and served throughout the year. July 5, 1776 he became Captain in Colonel Seth Warner's Additional Continental Regiment, and was taken prisoner July 15, 1779. A petition of his wife, Rachael Smith, for exchange, dated July, 1782, is on record in the Archives. He was placed on the retired list January 1, 1781. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ORINGH STODDARD of Stockbridge, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, May 18, 1742, was the son of James and Abigail (Pack) Stoddard. He settled in Stockbridge before the Revolution, and on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Williams's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve under the same Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and his name appears as Lieutenant of said Company in the list dated May 27, 1775. He served through the year. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Joseph Vose's 1st Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and served until his resignation, November 2, 1780. In the

"History of the Stoddard Family," it is stated that he became a General of Militia after the Revolution.. In 1778 he settled in the site of the present town of Union, N. Y., later removing to Lisle, Broome County. He died there October 3, 1824, aged 82 years, 4 months, 4 days.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSEPH WELCH of Richmond held that rank in Captain David Noble's Company of Minute Men and Militia, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. April 29, 1775, he was engaged to serve under the same officers in the 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served under them through the year. He was taken prisoner in Canada in 1776, and his name appears in an exchange list dated June 28, 1777. October 29, 1779, it was ordered that clothing be given him, being at the time a prisoner under parole. By special resolve his wages were made up to March 6, 1781; "On account of his having been a prisoner during a portion of the time."

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN WYMAN. An officer of this name appears as one of the recruiting officers of this regiment, in a document under date of July 15, 1775, but no further reference to him can be found.

SECOND LIEUTENANT SILAS CHILDS of Becket, held that rank in Captain Peter Porter's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Paterson's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he enlisted as Sergeant in Captain Thomas Williams's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, and served through the year. He may have been the Silas "Chile's" who was a private in Lieutenant Thomas Gould's Company, Colonel Benjamin Symond's Second Berkshire County Regiment in July, 1777.

SECOND LIEUTENANT EDWARD CUMPSTON of Saco held that rank in Captain Theodore Blisss Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Adjutant in Colonel John Greaton's 3rd Regiment, Massachusetts Line. November 11, 1777, he was commissioned Captain in the same Regiment. He resigned March 21, 1780.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JACOB LYON of Gageborough, was a

Sergeant in Captain Nathan Watkins's Company of Minute Men, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he enlisted under the same Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. In a list dated November 1, 1775, his name appears as Second Lieutenant in this Regiment, and the receipt for bounty coat was dated November 13, 1775. January 1, 1776, he became Second Lieutenant in Colonel Edward Phinney's 18th Regiment, Continental Army. He died April 15, 1776.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ENOS PARKER of East Hoosac (Adams), marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, as Ensign in Captain Samuel Sloan's Company of Minute Men. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve in the same rank under that Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. In a company return, dated probably October, 1775, he was called Second Lieutenant of the same company and regiment. He probably served through the year. July 9, 1777, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment. He also served in the same rank in that regiment on alarm calls in August and September, 1777. His name appears in the list of officers in Colonel Symonds's 7th Essex County (probably mistake in the records) Regiment, his commission as Captain bearing date of May 3, 1778. July 1, 1778, he was engaged as Captain of Colonel Gerrish's Regiment of Guards, and he served until January 3, 1779.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN PENNOYER of Sharon, Connecticut, was the son of John and Mary (St. John) Pennoyer of the above named town. He was born there February 11, 1754. His name appears in the above rank in Captain John McKinstry's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 26th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, in a return dated probably October, 1775, and also in a recommendation proclamation dated November 1, 1775. January 1, 1776, he became Second Lieutenant in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AMOS PORTER of Lenox held that rank in Captain Charles Dibble's Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which marched in response to the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 5, 1775, he was engaged to serve in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year under that officer.

SECOND LIEUTENANT NAHUM POWERS of Greenwich, may have been the man of that name, who, as a resident of Greenwich, at the age of eighteen, enlisted, July 6, 1759, in Colonel Israel Williams's Regiment, having had record of service in an expedition to Canada the previous year. He was a private in Captain Joseph Hooker's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Ruggles Woodbridge's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. October 24th he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Kelton's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year, being called Ensign in some lists, and Second Lieutenant in others. April 1, 1776, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain Isaac Powers's Company, Colonel Elisha Porter's Hampshire and Berkshire County Regiment. In August, 1776, he was in Colonel B. R. Woodbridge's Militia Regiment.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JEDEDIAH SANGER of Sherborn, was the son of Richard and Deborah (Rider) Sanger. He was born in Sherborn February 17, 1750-1. He was a private in Captain Benamin Bullard's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775, he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Morse's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. He continued to serve under those officers through the year. In 1776, he held the same rank in Colonel William Prescott's 7th Regiment, Continental Army, and his later military record will be found in the history of Colonel William Phescott's Regiment. (See Massachusetts Magazine, Vol. 1, Page 256). Judge Jedediah Sanger died in 1820.

SECOND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM WATKINS of Partridgefield (Peru), held that rank in Captain Nathan Watkins Company of Minute Men, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. May 5, 1778, he was engaged to serve in that rank under the same Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year. May 3, 1776 his commission as Captain in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's Second Berkshire County Regiment was ordered in Council. In a muster roll, dated Ticonderoga, February 25, 1777, his name appears as Captain of the 7th Company in Colonel Benjamin Symonds's detachment of Berkshire County Militia. A note stating that he entered service December 16, 1776, is also found in the archives.

SECOND LIEUTENANT PETER WHITE of Uxbridge, was engaged April 23, 1775, as Ensign in Captain William Wyman's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under these officers, and in a Company return, dated October, 1775, he is called Second Lieutenant. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel John Paterson's 15th Regiment, Continental Army.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOSIAH WRIGHT of Pittsfield, served as Sergeant in Captain Israel Williams's Regiment in 1757-8. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain David Noble's Company of Minute Men and Militia, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment, which marched in response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. We was engaged to serve in the same rank on April 29, 1775, and served through the year. He became a prominent citizen of Pittsfield, and was Deacon of the Methodist church. He served as Moderator at the Town Meeting, and held other offices of trust.

ENSIGN FRANCIS CABOT was credited with that rank in Captain Theodore Bliss's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment in a list preserved in the Massachusetts Archives 127, Page 201. He may have been the man of that name who served as a private in Captain William Clark's Company, Colonel Benamjin Symond's 2nd Berkshire County Regiment; service three days, marching from Gageborough to Benington August 17, 1777, by order of General Stark on an alarm.

ENSIGN CALEB SMITH of Lanesboro, held that rank in Captain Asa Barnes's Company, Colonel John Paterson's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 20, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Asa Barnes's Company, Colonel Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's 22nd Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year under that officer. His full biographical sketch has been given in the Massachusetts Magazine, Volume 4, Page 89.

ENSIGN SAMUEL WILCOX of Partridgefield (Peru) marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1777, as Sergeant in Captain Nathan Watkins's Company of Minute Men. May 27, 1775, the Provincial Congress ordered that his commission be delivered as Ensign in Captain Nathan Watkins's Company, Colonel John Paterson's 12th Regiment, Provincial Army.

AN EARLY BEE HUNTER'S ADVENTURES

A TRUE STORY.

By Francis McGee Thompson.

The first settlement made by the English upon the "Long" river of the Indians, the "Fresh" river of the Dutch, now called the Connecticut, was made by William Holmes of Plymouth, who sailed into its mouth, in October, 1633, and unloaded from his vessel, at a point just below the mouth of Windsor river, the already prepared frame of his house. When he returned to Plymouth he took with him some of the sachems of that region, whom the Pequots had driven out. The Dutch from Manhattan had traded on the "Long river," with the natives since 1614, and, intending to forestall the English, they had early in 1633 erected a small fort where Hartford now stands, which they named "Good Hope." The Dutch trained the two small guns in their fort on Holmes's ship, and ordered him to stop, but he told them that he had commission from the Governor of Plymouth to go up the river, "and if they did shoote, they must obey their order and proceede." So he 'proceeded' to his destination. Within two years, churches at Dorchester, Watertown and New Town, with their pastors, had removed bodily to the Connecticut, and settled at Windsor, Weathersfield and Hartford. Among the earliest to remove from Dorchester to Windsor, was Jonathan Gillett, or as more frequently spelled in early times, Gillit. He subsequently removed to Simsbury, and raised a family of ten children.

His third son, Joseph, (baptized July 25, 1641,) was one of the early settlers of Deerfield, later the frontier town of the Connecticut valley, and was killed by King Philip's Indians at the massacre of Lothrop and his men at Bloody Brook, Sept. 18, 1875. Samuel, younger brother of Joseph, was slain on the retreat of Capt. Wm. Turner after the fight at Turners Falls, May 19, 1676. The next year the widow of Samuel married Stephen Jennings of Hatfield, and that same year she with two of her children, were taken prisoners to Canada. While a prisoner, she became the mother of a babe whom she named Captivity Jennings. These prisoners were

rescued in 1678. Joseph Gillett was the father of seven children, and his son John, born June 10, 1671, was the hero of this story.

When, in 1651, the apostle Eliot made selection of the place where he proposed to build his town for the gathering in of his "praying Indians," he, and the General Court, supposed that the 2000 acres granted for that purpose, lay within the boundaries of Natick; but when it proved to be within the lines of Dedham, the proprietors of that town made the discovery, the basis of a claim upon the General Court for a grant in remuneration, and for twelve years they badgered the General Court for redress. Wearied at last, the legislature in 1663 appointed a committee who reported; "For a final issue of the case between Dedham and Natick, the Court judgeth meete to graunte Dedham eight thousand acres of land in any convenient place or places, not exceeding two, where it can be found free from former graunts; provided Dedham accepts this offer."

Dedham accepted the offer, and in order to make the most of their bargain, sent out spies, as Moses sent men to spy out Jaazer, to find the best location. The committee pitched upon the Pocumtuck (Deerfield) valley, and in 1665 the grant was laid out, including within its lines the rich bottom lands on both sides of the winding Pocumtuck. A sizeable stream rises in southeastern Vermont and flowing southerly enters the Pocumtuck or Deerfield a mile north of the old village. This was called by the Indians, "Picomegan," and by the English, Green river. On its banks lie the rich acres known as Greenfield meadows, and near by is the beautiful village of Greenfield.

Here, Sept. 16, 1696, John Gillett aged 25, and John Smead 23 years old, of Deerfield, were engaged in "hunting bees." Undoubtedly they were soldiers sent out on a scout, and the "tracking Bees," was merely an incident of the occasion. Judd, in his history of Hadley says, "The early settlers of Connecticut transported bees from the towns about Boston, and there were hives or skeps of bees at Northampton and Hadley in early days." ——— "Swarms of bees sometimes flew into the woods, and the racket made by beating pans and kettles did not check them. Bees have inhabited hollow trees in the woods of Hadley and other forests from time immemorial, and many persons have hunted for bee trees. Those found were marked, and afterwards cut down and the honey taken out." Rev.

Mr. Judd of Southampton made this entry in his diary, Oct. 20, 1746,— "went to hunt bees."

There were many methods of hunting bees in practice. I have seen an ancient bee hunting box, arranged with a sliding cover, made in two sections, in one of which was placed a little honey, and the other was for the detention of a few bees poked into it from the flowers. When the bee hunter discovered numerous bees, at a long distance from any known colonies, he carefully secured a few in his cage, and when they had in a measure recovered from their fright, he would permit a bee to feast upon the honey, and when liberated the bee would rise in the air, and after a moment take a direct course for his home station. As bee after bee was liberated, if they all took the same course, the hunter was assured that they were all from the same colony. The course of flight was fixed by the bee hunter by natural objects, and the place of observation was marked so as to be easily found, and then the bee hunter would move on at a right angle to the course of flight and repeat the process with a new collection of bees. When the new course of flight had been fixed, then one of the bee hunters would start from each station, and marching in the line fixed by the flight of bees, when they came together they were pretty sure to find a big hollow tree, and after critical examination discover some knot-hole or crack, through which the colony made ingress and egress. The tree being marked with the bee hunter's initials, a day was fixed for the cutting of the tree, the smoking and smothering of the bees, and the securing of the honey; in which sweet labor the lucky finder enjoyed the company of many friends.

While busily engaged in "tracking" his bees, Gillett, before he was aware of their presence, was nearly surrounded by nineteen French Mohawk Indians. Smead, being more distant, took flight and made his escape. It has always been thought by those best capable of judging, that some of this party of Indians were well acquainted with the people at Deerfield, and it is recorded that Capt. Partridge wrote about this time, "the Deerfield people are fearful concerning the pretended friendly Indians proving enemies, being worse than open enemies." Gillett may have recognized some friendly" in the party, and perhaps made no effort to es-

cape; at all events he was made a prisoner, and the party fearing that Smead would alarm the settlers at Deerfield, four or five miles away, they left three men to guard him while the other sixteen men pushed on to make a raid upon the settlement.

It was "lecture day" at Deerfield, and nearly all the adult population were gathered in the little new meeting house to hear Rev. John Williams, who had for ten years been the pastor of this frontier flock in the wilderness. The Indians, entering the settlement at the north end of the village street, meeting no resistance, came to the house of Mr. Daniel Belding, whom they had seen driving into his yard, a cart loaded with corn, from the meadow. Mr. Belding, being somewhat belated, left his oxen in the yard, and hastened into the house to make ready to attend the lecture.

His house stood where now is located the residence of Hon. George Sheldon, the venerated historian of the town, and was within gun shot of the north gate of the palisade which surrounded the meeting house, and other houses of the settlers. Immediately the Indians rushed in and took Mr. Belding, his son Nathaniel, (22) his daughter Esther, (13) prisoners, and killed Mrs. Belding, and their sons Daniel, (16) John, (3) and their daughter Thankful, (10) months. Samuel, their boy aged nine years, was on the load of corn, and when an Indian took him from the cart, "he kickd and scratchd and bit" the savage, who became vexed and set him down, and struck his hatchet into his head, and twitched twice or thrice to pull it out, and left him for dead." The boy soon recovered his senses and saw the savages running from the place. He started for the fort, but was so weak that when he came to the little bridge over the swamp, he fell off, but was rescued and taken to the ministers house. For a long time his life was dispaired of, but he recovered and lived until 1750. Abigail Belding (6) while running for the fort was wounded in the arm, (as was thought by a bullet fired from the fort;) but both sides were firing, and Zebediah Williams was wounded as he opened the palisade gate to let in the frightened settlers. Sarah, another daughter, (14) hid herself among some tobacco hanging in a chamber, and thus escaped.

One of the Indians being wounded "in the fleshy part of the thigh," and the people having become thoroughly alarmed, the Indians withdrew,

but were followed into the meadows "by some Brisk young men," and many shots were exchanged "without damage on either side." The Indians killed some cattle which were feeding in the meadow, but the boy who had them in charge, was quick witted enough to hide himself and escape capture. John Smead came safely into town soon after the enemy had retired with their prisoners.

After picking up their companions and Gillett, at Green river, the Indians camped the first night near Northfield street, in a round hole near Connecticut river. They took the route to Canada by the way of Otter river, and on their journey came upon a trail which, they announced, was made by Albany Indians on their way to Canada, "where they were wont to go a-scalping."

The Mohawk war party sent out scouts who discovered the "smoak" of the hostile Albany party, and reporting, the Indians immediately made preparations to attack their enemies. They threw off their packs, and smeared themselves with paint, tied their English prisoners to trees, and left two of their party as guards. Dividing into two companies, they made their attack, killing two, and two escaped. One of the attacking party was wounded in y^{e} fleshy part of the thigh, as one had been before at D'f'd." One of the prisoners taken in the skirmish, was a Scatacook, and one was a young Albany Mohawk. When the Indians and their captives were well on their journey, Mr. Belding asked the Scatacook what he thought the enemy would do with them. He told them that they would not kill the English prisoners, but would give some of them to the French, and keep some of them for slaves. He said that they would probably burn him, at least he expected that would be his fate. When they reached the lake, that night, it was raining very hard, and the Indians built no fire. Some of the Indians took the Scatacook under a canoe, and in some manner he worked himself free from his bonds and escaped. They made great search for the missing prisoner, but were forced to march without him. The Albany Mohawk, being of the same nation as the captors, was not in danger of being burned, the Canada Indians being Mohawks, but living in Canada, that they might enjoy the Catholic religion.

When the party reached the Oso fort, the captive men were forced to

run the gauntlet. Mr. Belding, being very nimble, escaped without much injury; but the others suffered much by being beaten with clubs and firebrands. It was the 9th of October, when they reached Canada, and the prophecy of the Scatacook proved true. Mr. Belding and his daughter were kept by the Indians, John Gillett and Nathaniel Belding were given to the French. The French placed Gillett as a servant with the Nuns, on their farm, and Nathaniel worked for the Holy Sisters. In July, Mr. Belding was sold to the Jesuits, and his duties were to cut wood, tend fires, and work in the garden at the Seminary. They thought themselves well used. Early in the following winter, Col. Abraham Schuyler arrived from Albany, and brought with him a copy of the articles of peace between England and France, and took home with him to Albany, some Dutch captives. The following April, Col. Schuyler returned with his brother Col. Peter Schuyler, the Dutch Dominie at Albany, and others, and after negotiation, the governor of New France gave liberty to all captives, Dutch or English, to return home, and ordered that all captives under sixteen years of age might be compelled to return, while those above that age might be at liberty to go or stay. On June 8th, the Schuyler party, having gathered up all the captives they could, both Dutch and English, started for Albany by way of Lake Champlain. In this party were Mr. Belding and his children, Martin Smith, and about twenty other English. They reached Albany about fifteen days after leaving Canada, and were very kindly entertained by the Dutch. Mr. Belding and his children went down the river to New York, thence sailed to Stamford, Conn., and from there went to Norwalk, to meet his brother, who had furnished him means for payment of his large expenses. He reached his home at Deerfield, and in 1699 married for his second wife, Hepzibah, widow of Lt. Thomas Wells. She was taken prisoner at the destruction of Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704, and killed on the march to Canada.

Our bee hunter, John Gillett reached Deerfield a short time previous to the return of the Belding family, by the round about way of France and England. Upon Gillett's arrival home, and the story of his hardships becoming known, the representative to the General Court from Hatfield, presented the following petition for his relief.

"Whereas John Gillett who hath been a very active and Willing Souldr within the County of Hampshire & Being On the 16th day of Septr 1696 out upon Service & togeather wth some others was that day taken by the enemy & suffering hardship was carried to Cannadie Captive & there Remaynd till Septr Last & then Sent from thence Prisonr into old ffrance, & thence (by the late Articles of Peace) he sd. Gilit together with other

Captives was Released & carried into England; Since his Arrival there hath Lived & obtained pay for his Passage by Charitie of Some English March^ts^ there & now being Arrived here destitute of Money or Cloaths for his present Reliefe Humbly propose it to y^e^ Honor^ble^ Co^r^te to allow him something w^t^ this Co^r^te judge meet for his p^r^sent Reliefe.

SAMLL PARTRIGG—

Province Laws—Chap. 17, 1698.

"Resolved there be allowed and paid out of the public treasury the sum of six pounds to John Gillett, for his present relief, having been imployed as a souldier in his majesties service within the province, and taken prisoner by the enemy and carried into Canada, and from thence to old France, and now returned home. Approved June 17, 1698.

John Smead, who escaped capture while "tracking bees," was living at Deerfield, when the hamlet was sacked by the French and Indians, Feb. 29, 1703-4, with his wife and child, and all escaped capture or death. Mr. Smead joined in the attempt made that day to rescue the captives, called the "Meadow fight" and received a bullet in his thigh which he carried to his grave in 1720. His son, John, made application to the General Court for some recognition of his father's service and suffering, and was granted two hundred acres of land. To the application the following certificate was attached. "I was in the Deerfield Meadow fight & see the said Smead kill an Indian. Some of the soldiers took off the Indian's scalp & secured it & I see the said John Smead shoot another Indian which he gave a mortal wound & the Indian died in a short time at the place where he received the wound or very near the place. Ebenezer Warner."

This son, John, was a soldier at Fort Massachusetts when it was captured by the French and Indians, Aug. 20, 1746, and himself, wife, and five children were among the captives taken to Canada. On the second day's march toward Canada, the wife became the mother of a girl baby, whom they named "Captivity" and it was baptized by Rev. John Norton, the English chaplain, also a prisoner. A litter was made of poles supporting a bear-skin, and the mother and child were carefully carried by the Indians to the end of their journey. Mrs. Smead died the following March, and Mr. Smead and the three youngest children were redeemed and reached Boston in August, 1747, but Mr. Smead was killed by Indians at a place on the Connecticut near the mouth of Miller's river, just three weeks after his return from captivity.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE WESTERN RESERVE

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From the organization of Congress in 1789 down to the Civil War, the debates of that body show a divided sentiment toward the pioneer of the West. John Randolph pronounced the western country a land "where any man may get beastly drunk for three pence sterling." He ridiculed the pioneers as "men in hunting shirts, with deer-skin leggings and moccasins on their feet—men with rifles on their shoulders and long knives in their belts, seeking in the forests to lay in their next Winter's supply of bear meat." This rebuke, delivered in Congress in 1824, was not allowed to pass unchallenged, however, for a few days later Robert P. Letcher of Kentucky, on the floor of the House, replied: "Sir, with the utmost frankness, I admit their external appearance is not the most fashionable and elegant kind; they are not decorated in all the style, the gaiety and the taste of a dandy of the first water. Their means are too limited and their discretion is too great, I trust, for the indulgence of such foppery and extravagance—Sir, these are the very citizens of whom the nation ought to be proud. They constitute the bone, and sinew, and strength, of your Government. In the hour of peril and danger they are always ready to rally around the standard of their country. Call upon them to maintain the honor of the nation, to defend her rights, they set up no Constitutional scruples, in answer to your call *about crossing boundary lines*!"[1]

These two opinions are suggestive, if not typical, of the attitude of members of Congress toward the pioneers of the West and towards the problem of the disposal of the public lands from the time of the organization of the North-West Territory until the establishment by Congress of a definite policy not only in regard to public lands and pioneers in the

1 As quoted by Kenneth W. Colgrove in Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 3-5.

West, but also in regard to the policy of frontier protection and internal improvements—if indeed, it may be said that Congress ever established a definite policy. Whatever may be the facts concerning this point, opinions, in and out of Congress, were divided upon the question of the effect and value of the Western settlements upon the national life and government during the period mentioned. The recorded opinions of that time have become interesting annals of our history from which we may now know the true prophets of that generation; for later history has placed its sober and final verdict decidedly in favor of the worth and value of the pioneer in the West to American political and social institutions. So universally indeed is this now conceded that the mere mention of it may seem a superogatory statement; and yet it is well to be reminded that competent minds were not always of the same opinion upon this now patent fact and that a study of western civilization in its relation to the East—which in this case is New England—is in its broadest sense a study of relations and adjustments preparatory to a higher development of national life and that the resultant principles are applicable with equal force to modern conditions. The pioneer of reform is but the western pioneer in modern life.

American political institutions have usually developed either from forces within the old institution and growing out of it, or from independent forces operating from without and modifying its development. The social and political institutions of Western Reserve developed from a combination of these two conditions. Here we have New England Puritanism transferring or projecting itself into a new environment, preserving in a large measure—at least in the first half century—its New England qualities, yet hampered by no customs or traditions in its further development, and acted upon by forces springing from a new soil and new environments. Western Reserve is the last home of colonized Puritanism, for it was in a great degree—especially on its social and religious side—a New England Colony. While individuals and families have carried Puritanism beyond the Mississippi, even to the Pacific slope, in no other place west does its united organizing quality appear to such an extent, in no other place has its social and religious flavor permeated and dominated the thought and life of so large a community. We can best understand to what an extent

New England was a factor in the life and thought, and in the development of the social, religious and political institutions upon the Western Reserve by turning to its history, for New England gave it its birth and her influence constitutes the main thread in the tissue of its life.

When Connecticut ceded her western territory to the general government, September 14, 1786, she reserved a tract lying along the south shore of Lake Erie, north of the 41st parallel and extending one hundred and twenty miles west from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. In New England this tract was generally called "New Connecticut," while in the west it was usually called "the Western Reserve of Connecticut." It was about the size of old Connecticut and has since been organized into twelve counties.[1] Of this tract the Connecticut legislature granted, September 5, 1792, to those of her citizens who had suffered from fire and other spoliation by British troops during the Revolutionary war, a half million acres from the west end of the Reserve called "The Fire Lands."[2] Three years later, September 5, 1795, the State executed a deed to John Caldwell, Jonathan Brace and John Morgan, trustees of the Connecticut Land Company, for 3,000,000 acres which included all that remained to the state and comprehended practically all of the Reserve except the Fire Lands. The state had issued to this company a quit claim deed conveying only such title as it possessed and leaving to the purchasers the duty of extinguishing the Indian titles to the land. Early in 1796 a party of fifty-two citizens of Connecticut, headed by Moses Cleveland, set out for the Reserve, reaching Buffalo on the 17th of June, where they met the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, completed a contract for the purchase of the Indian rights to the Reserve "for five hundred pounds of New York Currency to be paid in goods to the Western Indians, and two beef cattle and 100 gallons of whiskey to the Eastern Indians, besides gifts and provisions to them all." They arrived at the confines of New Connecticut, July 4, 1796, and proceeded to Conneaut where they pitched their tents, erected a cabin, began the surveys to their newly acquired lands, and opened the Reserve to settlers.

But the political status of the early settlers was for a time undecided

1 The Western Reserve Counties are: Ashtabula, Cuyahoga, Erie, Geauga, Huron, Lake, Lorain, Mahoning, Medina, Portage, Summit and Trumbull. Erie and Huron counties constitute the "Fire Lands."

2 The number of citizens receiving lands from these grants was 1,870

since Connecticut did not assume civil jurisdiction over the land she had sold. Governor St. Clair had organized Washington County in 1788 in the eastern part of the territory and this included a part of the Reserve, but the settlers did not feel that the government thus established was suited to their needs and most of them doubted its legality. Eight counties had been erected in the Northwest territory by 1800 but none of them were in the Reserve. No magistrate had been appointed for that portion of the country and no civil process was established; there was no mode of making legal conveyances, no authority to enforce contracts.[1] But in 1800 Connecticut transferred to the national government all claims to civil jurisdiction and Congress assumed political control. In pursuance of this authority Governor St. Clair established by proclamation Trumbull County which included the entire area of the Reserve, "The Fire Lands" and the adjacent islands. The first election was held at Warren, its county seat, on the second Tuesday of October, 1800. Forty-two votes were cast and Edward Paine, of Connecticut birth and founder of Painesville, received thirty-eight votes and was thus elected as the first representative to the territorial legislature. By a treaty between the land company and the Indians all lands in the Reserve west of the Cuyahoga river belonging to the Indians were ceded to the Company, thus giving them a full title to their complete purchase. Counties were now organized. Geauga county was organized in 1805; Portage in 1807, Cuyahoga in 1810, and Ashtabula in 1812. Many of the Indians remained on the Reserve till the breaking out of the war of 1812, when a portion of them joined with their Canadian brethren in taking up arms against the United States. At the close of the war occasional bands wandered back to their old hunting grounds on the Cuyahoga and Mahoning rivers, but the settlers soon made them understand that they were unwelcome visitors after the part they had taken against them in the war, and they soon disappeared. Thus, in 1812 the Reserve was practically cleared of the Indians and the first step in the conquest of the Western Reserve was complete.

It is thus to be noted that whatever beginnings existed on the Reserve up to 1800 were of purely New England origin. The original surveys were made by New Englanders; the Company owning the entire Reserve

1 Western Historical Society Tracts. Vol. 1, No. 30.

was a Connecticut company and, since there was no general civil authority over the tract between 1795 and 1800, the institutions established, originated entirely from voluntary action of the local inhabitants, practically all of whom were New Englanders. In 1798 there were fifteen families on the Reserve. In 1800 the entire population on the Reserve was 1,302 and at the close of the year these were groupd into thirty-two settlements, nearly all being from Connecticut; though Massachusetts, Vermont, and other New England states now also began to contribute their quota; and, although as yet no organized government was established, "the pioneers were a people who had been trained in the principles and practices of civil order and these were transferred to their new homes."[1] There was but little lawlessness which so often characterizes the people of a new country. After 1800 the population increased rapidly; townships were organized, ministers appointed, schools established after the manner of New England, and thus were planted the beginnings of institutions of New England origin, centuries old, in the "far west." General Garfield, one of the most distinguished sons of the Reserve, in an address delivered in 1873, said: "There are townships on this Western Reserve which are more thoroughly New England in character and spirit than most of the towns of the New England of today. Cut off as they were from the metropolitan life that had gradually been molding and changing the spirit of New England, they preserved here in the wilderness the characteristics of New England as it was when they left it at the beginning of the century. This has given the people of the Western Reserve those strongly marked qualities which have always distinguished them."[2]

The township was thus the first political institution established. It was the primary unit of civil government and the plan of survey—five miles square—readily lent itself to the adoption of the New England system of local government. There were, however, some important differences between the settlements here and the first settlements in New England. The townships were not drafted on the pattern of New England with the highways converging to the center of the town where the meeting house was located, with one exception—Talmadge township in Summit

1 Address by James A. Garfield in W. R. Hist. Soc. Tracts, Vol. 1. Tract No. 20. p. 27.

2 Ibid. p. 28.

County. Neither did they come here as they came to New England, because of religious dissatisfaction; nor was there any need to fortify themselves against the Indians, because they were generally friendly and mingled freely with the new settlers; tillable land being abundant there was no common ownership in the New England sense and, hence, the social instinct was less developed; neither were the settlements always made in church groups as in early New England. A settlement often began with a family; sometimes a single individual who purchased a whole township left his family in New England, visited his purchase, built a cabin and returned the following year to bring his family and a few necessary household utensils, such as could be conveyed in a wagon drawn by a team of horses or oxen. The journey from New England—about 600 miles from Connecticut—was beset with hardships and dangers and was, therefore, often made by the early settlers in groups numbering from ten to forty. Many of the letters of these early settlers have been preserved and from them we may review the life, thoughts, habits, and institutions of these sturdy pioneers.[1] I give extracts from one which is typical: "I was born at Middlefield, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, September 1, 1800. In the Spring of 1807 my father, Samuel Taylor, determined to remove to Ohio, and on the eighth of May our family, with those of Jeremiah Root, Benjamin Eggleston and Joseph Eggleston, numbering in all thirty-six persons, took leave of our relatives and neighbors and started on our journey....we were four days on the road from Warren to Aurora, a distance of less than thirty miles, where our journey of forty-five days terminated June 22, 1807. When we built our first log cabin the nearest neighbor on the north was 30 miles away; on the west, 60 miles, on the east about eight miles and on the south of Aurora, about ten to eleven miles to a house in Franklin township.

"At that time Ohio was a vast wilderness with but few inhabitants, except the Indians, who outnumbered the whites, 2 or 3 to 1; but the forests were filled with deer, bear, wolves, elks, raccoon, wildcats, turkeys, and various other kinds of wild animals.... During the night-time we had serenades from the hooting owls, the growling of bears or the more enliv-

1 See Annals of the Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga Co.; also Western Reserve Hist. Soc. Tract. 3 Vols.

ening howl of the wolf, the recollection of which enables me to appreciate a certain kind of operatic music which we now hear in some of our public assemblies.... A few days after our arrival I was sent to a school kept in a log school house, by Miss Polly Cannon, who received her education in Massachusetts..... Our teachers of that day were men and women who had been educated at the East and were generally of a high order of talent."[1]

From another letter describing events from 1803 to 1806 I quote:

"I attended a celebration on the fourth at Joel Paines; they fired guns, gave toasts and drank whiskey, made for the occasion over at Thompson's still, at the mouth of the Tiber. He also had a grist mill for grinding corn; he could put in a bushel of corn at night and the morning it was corn meal. The mill stones came from near Willoughby (then called Chagrin); two men brought them on their shoulders with a hand spike through the eye—one at a time. The still was brought from Pittsburg on a one-horse dray. The dray was made by fastening two long poles to the harness—one each side of the horse—the other ends dragged on the ground; pins fastened the poles together a little behind the horse, and the load is fastened to the pins..... Indians were all about us....they were perfectly friendly..... In the fall of 1803 my father and Capt. Skinner laid out a town and called it New Market..... It was situated between Skinner's and Gen. Paine's farms along the river." [2]

The above extracts suggest, and a careful perusal of the numerous letters, published recollections, and annals, lead one to conclude, that though the early settlers of the Reserve were of Puritan stock, there were strong influences that tended to degrade the moral and religious elements of Puritanism; at least such is the opinion of Joseph Badger, the first missionary sent to the Reserve by the Connecticut Missionary Society. In 1802 he records in his *Memoirs*: "Infidelity and profaning the Sabbath are general in this new place (Newburg) and bid fair to grow into a hardened, corrupt society."[3] A fourth of July celebration at Hudson, 1801, where about thirty had assembled, it is noted as follows: "After an appropriate prayer, the oration was delivered, interlarded with many grossly

1 Annals of Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga Co. Col. II, p. 143.
2 Ibid. p. 132 f.
3 Rev. Joseph Badger, Memoirs, Edited by Henry N. Day, 1851. p. 46.

illiberal remarks against Christians and Christianity."[1] It would thus appear that if the Bible was the chief work of literature read by the early settlers on the Reserve, as is so often stated by the historian, it was by no means the only literature. In this scattered population of wide areas, of small communities and families, isolated by forests, freedom of thought accompanied freedom of action, and there is reason to believe that it often preceded it: that many left their New England homes who were not dominated by the Westminster standards and who were out of sympathy with the New England creed. Volney and many other "infidel" writers were read, according to Badger, and no small part of that noble missionary's work was directed against the irreligious ideas current among the earlier settlers. He frequently appealed to the Connecticut Missionary Society for literature to counteract these influences. Mr. Badger's work, however, seems to have been very successful and there were periods of great religious fervor. On one occasion, in 1803, he "preached to about 3,000 people collected for a sacramental sermon."[2] As to the character of the preaching, he says: "There was nothing in the preaching calculated to move the passions otherwise than what is contained in the doctrine of total depravity, repentance, and faith as preached by all Calvinistic men."[3] Watt's Psalms and hymns which had not been used in any church, excepting one, west of the Alleghanies prior to 1801, were now, for the first time introduced. The old Scotch version had everywhere been used with strong prejudices in its favor, and Mr. Badger seemed very much surprised that reading the "Hartford Hymns created no disturbance." In passing it should be said that Mr. Badger was more than a mere preacher of sectarianism. He preached the Gospel in the broadest sense, but his work was also that of an instructor in other educational lines. A graduate of Yale, endowed with intellectual powers that would have won fame at home, he left with his family of six children for the wilderness of the West at a salary of seven dollars a week. His work took him away from his family for months at a time, visiting the sick, making friends of the Indians, supplying books, establishing schools, social libraries, and in every way aiding the cause of humanity. When the war of

1 Ibid. p. 27.
2 Ibid. p. 50
3 Ibid. p. 52.

1812 broke out he worked among the Indians, persuading them to fight for the United States against England. General Harrison appointed him chaplain and postmaster of the army sent to guard the frontier, and in this position he also rendered valuable aid as scout and guide. He was, in fact, a heroic character who did much—perhaps as much as any single individual,—to carry Puritan ideas into Western Reserve.

Perhaps in no other field did New England exert a greater influence in Western Reserve than in the religious activities of the pioneer missionaries sent out by the missionary societies of the East. The work of such men as Joseph Badger, Thomas Robbins, David Bacon, John Seward, Harvey Coe, Simeon Woodruff, William Hanford, and Caleb Pitkin has left a permanent impress. These men labored under the auspices of the Connecticut Missionary Society and fifteen churches were organized as early as 1823;[1] and since Congregationalism in Ohio is essentially a New England contribution, we may form a general estimate of its influence in the Reserve compared with other parts of Ohio by the distribution of the church members of that denomination in the state. The Congregational Year Book of 1856, the earliest one giving adequate statistics, gives the total number of members in Ohio at that time as 12,822 and of these 9,330 were on the Reserve.

The early missionaries of the Western Reserve were also the pioneers in the educational system of the new West. In October, 1786, the General Assembly of Connecticut, passed an Act for a survey of the Reserve with the Proviso that 500 acres in every township should be reserved for the support of the ministry and the same amount for the support of the public schools within the township, but only 24,000 acres were sold when the Act was repealed. When the land was finally sold, the funds accruing from these sales were applied to the schools of the state. Thus, while at first proposing to make a generous endowment for education in the Reserve the state abandoned the idea "at the same time that her children were going by thousands into 'New Connecticut' where they were left to provide themselves with schools as best they could."[2] The enabling act of 1802 for the admission of the state to the Union gave the inhabitants of

1 Ohio Church Hist., Society Papers. Vol. VIII. p. 62 f.
2 B. A. Hinsdale, The History of Popular Education on the Western Reserve in Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications. Vol. VI. p. 37.

every congressional township in Ohio section 36 for educational purposes; another act vested the title of the lands in the state legislature; but these acts did not apply to the Western Reserve, the Virginia Military District nor the United States Military Bounty Lands, amounting in all to about one-third of the whole area of the state. Connecticut appropriated to her own use the whole of the reservation; so did Virginia, leaving the people of these sections at a disadvantage. But Congress came to their aid and put them on the same footing as the rest of the state.

Neither did the framers of the state constitution of 1802 contemplate a school system supported by the state. Article VIII of that act merely provides that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provisions" and that "no law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several counties and townships within the state" from equal privileges in educational institutions supported in whole or in part from donations made by the United States. Section 27 of the same article gives associations the right to apply for charters of incorporation and the right to hold real and personal property for school purposes. In other words, there was no more contemplated by the framers of the first constitution in regard to schools than the granting of corporate powers and protecting the rights of persons and property. All laws relative to schools down to 1821 dealt only with school lands and all education prior to that time was purely voluntary.[1] It was the early missionaries who first called attention to the educational needs. Mr. Badger writes, April 8, 1810, "By preaching in different settlements and visiting small schools, now beginning to be set up, I learned the great want of school books; and by family visits, I also learned the want of suitable books in the family.[2] He himself then undertook the business of supplying the books and wrote to "several gentlemen dealing largely in books both in Boston and Hartford" but did not succeed very well financially, "although schools were supplied with books, and some social libraries furnished. Book dealers forwarded many unsalable books. The war coming on, increased the expense of transportation, and books soon fell below their former price."[3] He therefore sold all he could and gave the rest to poor people. As early

1 Ibid. p. 39.
2 J. Badger, Memoirs, p. 126.
3 Ibid.

as 1801 Mr. Badger suggested the idea of obtaining a charter from the legislature authorizing the establishment of a college.

In 1803 a charter was granted incorporating the "Erie Literary Society." Joseph Hudson being the first-named incorporator and Rev. Joseph Badger the last. Private donations of land furnished the means of putting up a building in 1806, two stories high, the first being used for common school purposes and the second for an academy and for religious worship on Sunday. This was the beginning of Burton Academy in which Seabury Ford was fitted for Yale College where he graduated in 1825 and was afterwards elected Governor of Ohio. Peter Hitchcock, the first teacher, was afterward elevated to the Supreme Bench of the State, and David Tod, the eminent War Governor of Ohio, was educated here. A theological department was later added under the influence of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches. But the introduction of sectarianism reduced its patronage to such a hopeless extent that the institution was removed to Hudson, when it was called "Western Reserve College," and where it achieved a wide reputation. In 1882 it was removed to Cleveland where it was called "Adelbert College of Western Reserve University."[1] Thus the first institution of higher education began with the primitive settlers who brought with them little else than their Puritan faith—a faith in themselves, in schools, churches and a belief in the efficacy of moral virtues.

In the history of the development of the common school system of Ohio, New England influence was likewise strong. In the constitutional convention of 1851 the members from the Reserve, many of them of New England birth, wielded a dominating influence. The school laws made in accordance with that constitution were largely the work of Harvey Rice, born in Massachusetts in 1800, and John W. Willey, one of the early settlers of Cleveland and a descendant of a Massachusetts family.

Thus far the influence of New England in Western Reserve has been considered primarily with reference to church and religious life, and education. A word should also be said of those distinguished political leaders and jurists who on Reserve rose to fame and many of whose names are national.

1 Harvey Rice, Sketches of Western Life. p. 97.

Joshua R. Giddings, though born in Pennsylvania, was a product of the Western Reserve. Rufus P. Ranney, whom Rhodes[1] has called the best lawyer and soundest judge in Ohio, was born in Massachusetts, as was also Benjamin Wade. During the first half century of statehood the Reserve gave six judges to the Supreme court of Ohio four of whom were born in Connecticut, one in Vermont and one in Massachusetts; and the decisions of some of these judges were important, since the earlier decisions upon questions of law incident to a new country formed precedents which established a system of western common law which has since become a standard authority. One of these judges was Calvin Pease whose decisions, contained in the first four volumes of "Hammond's Reports," were the first law reports published by the state. The decisions of these judges were by no means always popular and it is interesting to note that in 1808 the legislature impeached Judges Tod, Sprigg and Huntington for declaring a law of the legislature unconstitutional. They escaped by only one vote but in 1809 the legislature passed an act declaring their office vacant. The case arose on appeal from a justice in Western Reserve and feeling on this subject is shown in a letter to Judge Tod, also from the Reserve, written by a member of the legislature and one of the framers of the constitution of 1802. Judged from its contents it might have been written during the campaign of 1912:

"Hon. George Tod—Sir: If the judges have a right to set aside laws because they seem to them unconstitutional, the people have no security, except the infallibility of the judges.

"If the judges have a right to set aside laws because they are unconstitutional, they cannot be removed from office, because it would be hard indeed to remove a judge for error in judgment. If the judges have a right to set laws aside, then the people have no power left them, except choosing their representatives, for the representatives may enact laws, the judges set them aside, and thus Government would be at an end..... If the people allow the judges to set aside laws, does it not make the judiciary a complete aristocratic branch by setting the judges over the heads of the legislature?

"Nothing, I think, could have originated the idea, except it is the script-

1 Hist. of U. S. Vol. 1. p. 299.

ure account of God and the devil—one to create, the other to destroy."[1]

But, besides the distinguished leaders in religious thought, in education, politics and law, who achieved national distinction, one is impressed in tracing out the history of the local communities on the Reserve, to find so many names of men and women leaders in their local community, who rendered service to their city, county, state and even nation,—names falling a little below the range of the national historian,—yet representing services upon which great national issues have turned and have been decided for the right. The majority of these persons were named in New England for they were of New England birth. Their ideas were carried forward by the generations which followed them and their ideals were generally accepted as a standard of civic and moral conduct. And the intelligent observer living in the Reserve today has constant evidence that neither time nor change has erased the early Puritan impress upon this section of the state. An analysis of the vote upon the constitutional amendments proposed in 1912 still shows the Reserve counties united in sentiment and purpose on the moral questions involved.[2]

To briefly summarize, this may be said in conclusion: That the early settlers of the Reserve were almost wholly of New England stock; that the first settlements were made by families or in groups scattered throughout the occupied territory and from which a local leadership was developed which shaped the social, religious and political life on the Reserve. This leadership, remained in the hands of the New Englanders long after the original Puritan was outnumbered by the native-born and the immigrant who came from outside of New England—for in 1840 only about one-fourth of those living on the Reserve came from New England; that one of the chief elements of Puritanism—reverence for religion—tended to disappear when the scattered settlements passed from under the influence of an organized church community but was reestablished or revived by the work of the missionaries; that the common school system and higher education were of New England Origin; that the two chief lines of New England influence were religious and educational; that the connection between New England and the Reserve was personal, not political, and that out of

1 Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts. No. 2 p. 3. f.
2 R. E. Cushman, "Voting Organic Laws" in Political Science Quarterly, XXVII, p. 220.

it all developed the western Puritan. The total result of these beginnings belong to a later period which may properly form a separate chapter, but this much is already apparent; that if what Ranke says is true in principle, that no community ever rose to important consequences in which the religious motive was not dominant,* it may find its verification in the history of the Western Reserve.

*L. v. Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeibalter der Reformation, Vol. I. Introduction.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

It is reported that Secretary of the Navy Daniels is searching New England for a descendant of Commodore Samuel Tucker, born in Marblehead, November 1, 1747, to christen the largest and fleetest destroyer of the United States Navy at the Fore River yards soon, which is to be named in honor of the Marblehead naval officer, who was one of the Massachusetts privateersmen, in the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812.

The house in which he lived prior to the Revolution is still standing in Marblehead. He settled on a farm near Bristol, Me., after the war. Though he was thanked especially by Congress for his brilliant services in capturing the enemies' ships, the government never properly compensated him for those services, and the poor old hero passed his last years in comparative poverty.

The following communication from Librarian Clarence S. Brigham, of the American Antiquarian Society, will be of great interest to genealogical searchers, who are interested in tracing emigrants from Massachusetts to Michigan and other parts of the West:

"My dear Sirs:—

"I noticed that in your last issue, received today, the fact is recorded that very few volumes of western county histories—the case of Michigan being in point—are to be found in New England libraries. You note that none of the Boston libraries contain more than two of the Michigan county histories. The Library of the American Antiquarian Society has about 200 titles relating to Michigan, including about 20 local histories. I notice one title which is not included in Mr. Flagg's list, the "History and Directory of Kent County," compiled by Dillenback & Leavitt, Grand Rapids, 1870, pp. 319. This is the earliest county history of Michigan and contains considerable relating to early pioneers.

"The Library of the American Antiquarian Society has always made

local histories of the United States one of its specialties. Of about 1500 town and county histories of New England, I know of only four titles missing in the collection. The collection of New York local histories contains about 250 volumes, that of Pennsylvania 200 volumes, that of Ohio nearly 100 volumes, and a fair proportion of the county histories of all the Western States. I am writing this letter, not to exploit the value of the Library in this direction, but to call to the attention of researchers throughout New England that such a collection can be consulted at this Library."

We are glad to know that so many of these are available in Massachusetts, and hope that Mr. Brigham will furnish us with a list of the county history titles which he has, for publication in our next issue.

This reminds us of the value of articles on Massachuestts historical libraries, such as those on the "Massachusetts Historical Society," and the "Boston Public Library," already published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, to inform students and searchers of distinctive departments in which the great historical libraries of Massachusetts excel. Mr. Charles A. Flagg, compiler of the Michigan Pioneer series, consulted several of the best informed librarians in the state—yet none were aware of this special collection of the American Antiquarian Society. We shall print an article describing the rich treasures in the library of the American Antiquarian Society in a future number.

The distinguished head of the famous Adams family, Charles Francis Adams, died on March 20, 1915, nearly 80 years of age. Trained to the law, he was distinguished as soldier, public official, railroad president, lecturer and historian. Since 1895 he has been President of the Massachusetts Historical Society and has been the recognized leader in reforming that venerable society of One Hundred from the narrow self-centred spirit into which it had fallen, previous to his direction of its affairs.

We have to correct an error of identity in our last issue. It was not Mr. Francis Parkman, the historian, who presented $5,000,000 to Boston, but George F. Parkman.

Former Governor Curtis Guild, died April 6, 1915, in his fifty-third year, after a very brief sickness, contracted at Salem, where he went to deliver an address, something he was constantly requested to do, on all manner of public occasions. It was the strain put upon him by these constant efforts to please his friends that was responsible, in a large degree, for his death. We recall with regret his letter printed in our last issue which in full, read as follows:—

Boston, Mass., Feb. 19, 1915.

My dear Mr. Dennis:

You have doubtless noticed from the newspapers that I have been confined to my bed for nearly three weeks with a very serious illness, the result of a complete break-down from trying to oblige too many who wish me in the general public interest to do extra outside work.

This is the first opportunity I have had to answer your letter of January 28th. It is now, of course, too late for me to prepare the article you desire. I can only express my regrets that illness, and illness alone, prevented my undertaking the task.

Faithfully yours,

CURTIS GUILD.

His big, generous-hearted nature would not allow him to say no to anyone who asked for his time and energy. This was the key to his great popularity, so manifest by the public and the press in his funeral obsequies. We gave a biography of his life in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for October, 1908. Among the many new anecdotes and stories told on the occasion of his death, we would record this one, from one of his political adversaries, illustrative of his broad and kindly sympathy for others:

"When I was being fiercely attacked he called my house on the telephone and told my wife not to be alarmed by stories in the newspapers. 'It's all politics and damnable politics at that,' he said. 'Thinking people have confidence in him and he'll come out right in the end. I am looking

forward to the day myself when I will be relieved of public office because I do not know the hour when some State officer, whom I cannot possibly know about, will commit some act that will disgrace the State and I will be held responsible.' It can well be imagined how much this meant to my famiy and how much it was appreciated, but it was just like Curtis Guild."

Though the ter-centenary anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth is yet five years in the future, it was considered none too soon to make plans for a fitting celebration of the event, and several bills have been presented to the General Court since the first of the year, looking to the appointment of a commission to make plans and preparations for the event.

A commission of seven was appointed by Governor Walsh, in March, consisting of the following: Ex-Governor Curtis Guild, Sherman L. Whipple, lawyer, of Brookline; Rev. Albert E. Dunning, editor of the *Congregationalist*; Ralph A. Cram, architect; Denis A. McCarthy, poet; James Logan, ex-mayor of Worcester; Arthur Lord, president of the Pilgrim Society and treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Governor's selection is considered an excellent one, and the commission will report to the next legislature.

Various plans have been suggested, among others a world's fair in or near Boston, a great pageant at Plymouth, the erection of an imposing monument at Plymouth, etc.

Which ever form is undertaken there is no doubt that the year 1920 will be one of great rejoicing not merely in Massachusetts, but throughout the entire country, for the arrival of the Pilgrims was one of the most important events in the history of America.

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THE SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN
AND THE BOWLES FAMILY

By Albert W. Dennis

The death of Samuel Bowles, at Springfield, on March 14, called the attention of New England and the entire country to that unique and powerfully influential newspaper the *Springfield Republican*; and the family which has always been identified with it.

Springfield, Mass., is a city of just over 100,000 population, yet it has a newspaper known, respected and quoted as widely throughout the country as any metropolitan daily of whatever circulation in the United States. The remarkable achievement of developing such a newspaper in so small a city is due to one family—father, son, and grandson: Samuel Bowles who started the paper as a weekly in 1824; Samuel Bowles, who at 18 years of age induced his father to convert the weekly into a daily, immediately assumed the responsibility of management and became one of the great editors of American journalism, the peer of Greeley, Raymond and Dana; and Samuel Bowles (just deceased) who assumed sole control of the *Republican* upon his father's death in 1878, and maintained the high character and prestige of the publication through the past thirty-seven years.

Every son of an illustrious father finds public opinion disinclined to bestow credit for what he achieves in life; and the son just deceased has been no exception to this rule. But the unanimously expressed opinion

of the press of the nation since his death, is that he has done all that human genius could do within the limitations of such a circumscribed population as Springfield and the Connecticut valley; and that the influence and power of the *Springfield Republican* is as great today as ever.

None of the newspapers of the country more freely or generously admitted this than the editors of the great newspapers in New York City:

New York Evening Post said: "The *Republican* has continued to hold both its local constituency and its place in the nation, without any departure from its standards of good taste and good sense. In doing so it has rendered a service to our civilization the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate."

New York Times said: "While keeping the *Springfield Republican* abreast with the times year by year, he never lowered its standards. He was alive to new ideas and new issues, but he was careful to preserve always the dignity, honesty and cleanliness of his newspaper and its good influence was recognized in his day as it was in his father's, all over the country."

New York World said: "The third Samuel Bowles conserved and strengthened the work of his father and grandfather. . . .more than this he could not hope to do in a comparatively small city and under limitations which increasingly tie down the daily newspaper circulation to the neighboring audience. . . ."

The following are a few opinions from the far west:

Topeka (Kansas) Daily Capital: "We have regarded the *Springfield Republican*, considering that it is printed in a town of less than 100.000 population, as one of the most remarkable newspapers in the world, for it is without a superior, even if it actually has a rival in its influence over the best thought of the whole American continent."

Des Moines Register and *Leader* said: "The *Springfield Republican* has been through two generations, partly because of tradition, partly because of a unique old-fashionedness, but mainly because of real power, the best known and most widely-quoted newspaper in the country in a city less than 100,000 people."

St. Paul Pioneer Press says: "With the passing of Samuel Bowles a towering monument of American journalism has been removed. The idea of the modern newspaper is more or less commercial. It strives to meet a legitimate demand, the demand of its readers. By securing circulation it is enabled to maintain an expensive popular service of news, features and advertising. It is edited from the people as well as to the people.

"The character of the *Springfield Republican* is different. It embodies, simon-pure and without compromise, the personal ideals of an idealistic editor. It maintains a literary and journalistic tradition which is unsullied by popular clamor. It scorns headlines, features and display of any description. Instead of a newspaper in the modern sense, it falls little short of being a symposium of current historical treatises.

" Its circulation, therefore, is such as a big modern daily could gain or lose almost any day and feel no change. But the editors of the big modern dailies read the *Republican* with wholesome respect. They know its word is law and they admire its ideals. Thus the *Republican* has been a master influence upon the public opinion of the United States."

North and South, East and West, from nearly every journal of prominence in the country came editorial utterances of similar import.

The New Republic said: "In many respects the *Springfield Republican* stands as the highest achievement of American Journalism. . . . . To him the publication of a newspaper was not a business. It was an art."

The Bowles Family.

These opinions and this occasion give renewed interest to the remarkable family behind the *Springfield Republican*. It struck its roots into New England soil two and three-quarter centuries ago, but did not take up ink and paper as a vocation until its sixth generation—about 100 years ago. The eight generations were:

1st John Bowles, the original founder of the family, came to New England in 1640; was one of the prominent men of Roxbury, Mass; was an elder in the first church; one of the founders of the Roxbury free school; and a member of the Artillery Co.

2nd John Bowles (born 1653, died 1691) was baptised by the Apostle Eliot, and married Eliot's grand daughter; was a graduate of Harvard in 1671; was elder in the church; was representative to the General Court, and elected speaker of the House.

3rd John Bowles (born 1685, died 1737) graduated from Harvard in 1703; was prominent in managing town affairs of Roxbury; was major in the militia; was representative in the General Court for ten successive years.

4th Joshua Bowles (born 1722, died 1794) was furniture carver in Boston, a very benevolent and pious man, prayed aloud while walking the street, mingled scriptural language with his speech in business.

5th Samuel Bowles (born 1762, died 1813) was thirteen years old when the Revolutionary war broke out; his two brothers served in the war as sergeant and captain; he was not a graduate of Harvard; got scanty schooling; learned the pewterers trade; on account of poor business removed to Hartford and kept a grocery store, at which he seems to have made little more than a living; but was described as "a man of quick wit, good sense and strict honesty;" not a member of any church, but always governed by a sense of religious duty.

6th Samuel Bowles (born 1797; died 1851). It will readily be observed that thus far the Bowles family is on the decline—that Joshua the 4th and Samuel the 5th were not the equals in ability and capacity of the 1st John, 2nd John and 3rd John, who preceded them. From men of affairs and leadership among their fellows, in the first three generations, the men have descended to "furniture worker" and small grocer. So we look with interest to see what abilities are displayed by this the 7th generation, in our line of descent. It must be admitted that there is not manifest much improvement—such power as there was was still pursuing its subterranean course—as it often does

in families. He is described as a prim sober man, slow in his mental action, cautious and canny; respected and trusted, but laughed at a little some times for his stiffness and odd ways. He received a common school education, worked for his father a little, but later apprenticed to the printing business. He was not through with his apprenticeship until after he was of age, and then struggled on for several years with "dubious success." At the age of 27, being married, with one child, becoming dissatisfied with his prospects in Connecticut, he decided on removing with a small printing plant he had, to Springfield, where he had some relatives who helped him financially. He moved up the river on a flat boat in 1824 and in September of that year started the *Springfield Republican*. Mr. Bowles was himself editor, reporter, compositor and pressman. But Springfield was the largest and most prosperous town in western Massachusetts, and the paper started with a subscribers list of 250 at $2 per year; and it is evident that the paper satisfied its readers, for it slowly and steadily prospered and yielded a living for the proprietor and his family, which eventually consisted of five children, as follows:

Albert, born Jan. 17, 1823; died Aug. 16, 1823.
Julia, born Feb. 21, 1824; married Adonijah Foot June 20, 1848; died Aug. 29, 1851.
Samuel, born Feb. 9, 1826; married Mary S. Dwight Schermerhorn Sept. 6, 1848; died Jan. 16, 1878.
Amelia Peabody, born Feb. 18, 1818; married Henry Alexander Nov. 8, 1847; died 1896.
Benj. Franklin, born Apr. 19, 1833; married Mary E. Bailey; died in Paris, May 4, 1876.

Samuel it will be seen was born about two years after the starting of the *Republican*. So he practically grew up with the paper. He was not a boy who liked manual labor, or who went in strong for sports such as skat-

ing or base ball. But was marked by fate with a fondness for reading books, magazines and newspapers, especially the latter. He left school at 17 and entered the printing office to help his father. He had never shown any aptitude for the mechanical end of the business, but readily took to reporting: developed ambitions for the paper, and in less than a year surprised his father by proposing to make the *Republican* a daily. His father, near fifty and satisfied with his moderate success, was not favorable to the idea at first, but finally yielded to his son's persistence and argument, on condition that the son shoulder the responsibility of "pushing it." So the Daily *Republican* was started March 27, 1844, when young Sam Bowles was 18 years of age.

On this young man's shoulders fell the responsibilities of initiative and the larger part of the brain work. He showed keen observation, cultivated a simple clear style, and acquired the art of boiling down for the *Republican* the gist of news. But it is said that at the outset he was a slow writer and a slow thinker. Even his news reports were written patiently and laboriously.

Born at a time when the parental fires of ambition and exertion burned with their reddest glow, he inherited a genius for concise, brief, and pungent composition, and an ability to perceive with keen precision what was good in the work of others, which made him one of the ablest of managing editors. So he drew to himself such excellent assistants as Dr. J. G. Holland, Samuel H. Davis, J. E. Hood, Solomon B. Griffin, Charles G. Whiting, Wilmot L. Warren and correspondents like D. W. Bartlett ("Van"), Wm. S. Robinson ("Warrington,") and gradually built up a staff under his inspiration and leadership, who made the *Republican* interesting in every line of every column.

To understand how Mr. Bowles established and made the daily *Springfield Republican* one of the great newspapers of the country, one needs to view the condition of provincial journalism as it existed in the preceding age. Of which Mr. Bowles has written as follows:

"News had grown old when it was published. The paper did the work of the chronicler or annalist merely, and was the historian of the past rather

than a spectator and actor in the present. It was not upon the printed column that the events of the day struck the heart of the living age, and drew from it its spark of fire. In those times that place of contact was found in the personal intercourse of men. News ran then along the street, from mouth to mouth; the gossiping neighbor carried it; the post-rider brought it into the groups gathered at the village store. By and by came the heavy gazette, not to make its impression but to record the fact. The journalism was yet to be created that should stand firmly in the possession of power of its own; that should perfectly reflect its age, and yet should be itself no mere reflection; that should control what it seemed only to transcribe and narrate; that should teach without assuming the manners of an instructor, and should command the coming times with a voice that had still no sound but its echo of the present."

An editorial on "The Newspaper," which appeared in the *Republican* January 4, 1851, six years after the daily was started, gives an idea of the wonderful new journalism wrought by the telegraphic dispatches, and is an excellent specimen of the powerful editorials that were making the *Republican* a national reputation:

"Nothing can be more evident to the public, and nothing certainly is more evident to publishers of newspapers, than that there is a great deal more news nowadays than there used to be...Publishers of country weeklies used to fish with considerable anxiety in a shallow sea, for matter sufficient to fill their sheets, while dailies only dreamed of an existence in the larger cities...Now all is changed. The increase of facilities for the transmission of news brought in a new era. The railroad car, the steamboat, and the magnetic telegraph have made neighborhood among widely dissevered states, and the Eastern Continent is but a few days journey away. These active and almost miraculous agencies have brought the whole civilized world in contact. The editor sits in his sanctum and his obedient messengers are the lightning and the fire. He knows a fire has raged in London before the wind could waft its smoke to him; the lightning tells him of an explosion in New Orleans before they have counted the dead and wounded; the debates of Congress are in his hands, though hundreds and thousands of miles from the Capitol, before the members who participated in them have eaten their dinner; a speech is under his eyes before the hurrahs it awakened have died away; and there he sits day after day, as if he were the center of the

world to whom all men and things are accountable, and all actions returnable. These events are chronicled and explained, and then they are given to his messengers, the rushing engines, which carry them to thousands of greedy eyes, waiting to see, in one brief transcript, the record of the world's great struggle the previous day. The appetite for news is one of those appetites that grows by what it feeds on. The mind accustomed to the gossip of nations cannot content itself with the gossip of families. The tendency of this new state of things has as yet hardly claimed a moment's consideration from the moralist and the philosopher. Nations and individuals now stand immediately responsible to the world's opinion, and the world, interesting itself in the grand events transpiring in its various parts, and among its various parties, has become, and still is becoming, liberalized in feeling; and being called away from its exclusive home-fields has forgotten in its universal interests, the petty interests, feuds, gossips and strifes of families and neighborhoods. This wonderful extension of the field of vision, this compression of the human race, into one great family, must tend to identify its interests, sympathies, and motives. The press is destined, more than any other agency, to melt and mould the jarring and contending nations of the world into that one great brotherhood which through long centuries has been the ideal of the Christian and the philanthropist. Its mission has but just commenced. A few years more and a great thought uttered within sight of the Atlantic will rise with the morrow's sun and shine upon millions of minds within the sight of the Pacific. The murmer of Asia's multitudes will be heard at our doors; and laden with the fruit of all human thought and action, the newspaper will be in every abode, the daily nourishment of every mind."

The strength of the daily *Republican* from the first lay largely in its political discussions. While its news service was inferior to that of journals in the large centres of population, it handled the political questions of the day with a breadth, intelligence and vigor which few journals then or afterward surpassed. In its very first issue as a daily it had an editorial in opposition to the annexation of Texas. It supported the whig party and later opposed it; opposed Charles Sumner's first election to the United States Senate; opposed abolition; attacked the U. S. Supreme Court for its decision in the Dred Scott case; declared President Buchanan's policy of forcing slavery upon Kansas, apt to lead to civil war; supported Stephen A. Douglas

and later opposed him as a demagogue; considered John Brown a fanatic, but a hero, and protested against his execution; was so strong in its opposition to the South that it was excluded from the Southern mails; at the close of the war urged liberal treatment of the South.

We get this pen picture of the man "on the job," from an out-side friend who once accompanied him to the office:

"As we entered the office, hastily pointing me to a chair, he fell into conversation with a person who was writing at the table, and asked rapid questions: "Did you do this? and this? Have you sent that letter? Did Chapin come in? Did he agree? Right down mad?—well I can explain it all." Send Mifflin to me [names of course fictitious]. Mifflin came. "Have you looked up the matter of the railroads?" "Yes?" "What I believed was right?" "Yes, and more besides." "Then put it all into an article three quarters of a column long—not a word longer—clear, decided, as if you felt the ground under your feet. That's all. Will you send Chapman?" "Good evening, Mr. Chapman—now I want to settle the business about the compromise once for all—no compromise in the way we do it. You need not be unjust, but hit 'em hard. Your last was longer than I told you to have it—don't be wordy; keep within the exact limit of a quarter of a column. Is Endicott within?" "Endicott glad to see you. Have you worked up the school business? Don't be afraid because some of the men are ministers. We'll prove that we are God Almighty's gentlemen ourselves. These wrongs ought to be righted and if we must we will shame them out of their indifference, clergyman and all. A column and a half you may take—I need not tell you not to be long—shorter, if you choose, but say it strong."

After Mr. Bowles death, Dr. Holland, his editorial associate, wrote of him as follows:

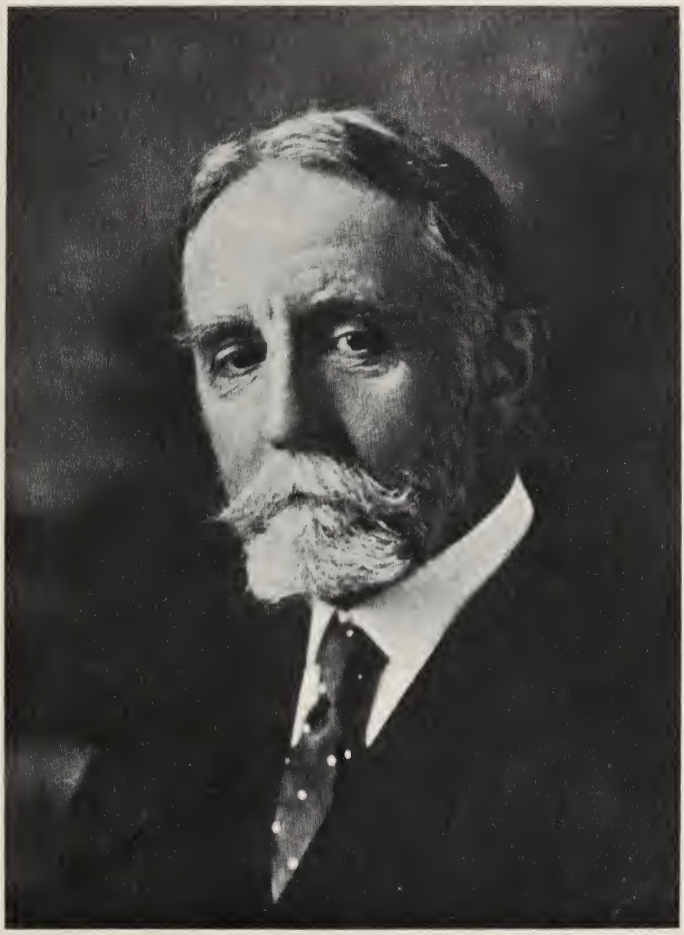
"As I think of my old associate, and the earnest exhausting work he was doing when I was with him, he seems to me like a great golden vessel, rich in color and roughly embossed, filled with the elixir of life, which he poured out without the slightest stint for the consumption of this people. This vessel was only full at the first and it was never replenished. It was filled for an expenditure of fifty or sixty years, but he kept the stream so large that the precious contents were all decanted at thirty. The sparkle, the

vivacity, the drive, the power of the *Republican*, as I know it in the early days, the fresh and ever eager interest with which it was every morning received by the people of Springfield and the Connecticut Valley, the superiority of the paper to other papers of its class, its ever widening influence—all these cost life. We did not know when we tasted it and found it so charged with zest that we were tasting heart's blood, but that was the priceless element that commended it to our appetites. A pale man, weary and nervous, crept home at midnight, or at one, two, or three o'clock in the morning and while all nature was fresh and the birds were singing, and thousands of eyes were bending eagerly over the results of his nights labor, he was tossing and trying to sleep. Yet this work, so terrible in its exactions and its consequences was the joy of this man's life—it was this man's life; and was the best exponent of the kind of devotion to an idea and a life-work I have ever known. I give its memory most affectionate reverence.

"His love of thoroughness was united with a firm personal belief that no one could do his work as well as he could do it himself. His strong conviction that his way was always the best way led him to fret and worry over the work of others, and to do all that he could with his own hands. I have known him in the early part of his career to sit up at night for hours that he might read a little batch of unimportant proof, which was measurably sure in the foreman's hands to come out right in the morning,—little fancying that he was selling his life at that petty price. Mr. Bowles died of overwork and overwatching, and proved that the man who, in a large administrative place, undertakes, in any considerable degree, to execute his own plans in their unimportant details, must suffer the penalty of death."

Of Mr. Bowles, Mr. Bryan wrote in the *Paper World* some time after his death:

"Labor was his relaxation, toil his daily meat and drink, perseverance his amusement, and achievement his recompense. Once placed on the high road to fame and fortune, the *Republican* made rapid strides in the way of achievement and success, but Mr. Bowles never slackened his hold on the reins of government and management, or eased his shoulders from the heavy burden of labor which he assumed at the outset. He was omnipresent. He knew everything, saw everything, dictated everything and his dictation dictated every time."



SAMUEL BOWLES
1851–1915

The portrait shown on the front cover
is that of his father.

He married Mary S. Dwight Schermerhorn, daughter of Henry V. R Schermerhorn of Geneva, N Y., and granddaughter of James S. Dwight, Springfield merchant, and had ten children, as follows:

Sarah Augusta Bowles, born June 6, 1850; married June 30, 1874, Thomas Hooker, of New Haven, Conn. Died March, 1909. Children:

Aurelia Dwight, born, May 2, 1875; died, 1899.

Richard, born, 1878; married in 1910, Winifred Newberry of Cleveland, O. Was Washington correspondent for the *Republican* for several years, and later joined the editorial staff. Since the death of Samuel Bowles in March, he has been editor and publisher.

Thomas, Jr., born, July 26, 1882, married in September, 1915, Emily Morgan, of New Haven, Conn., where he is practising law.

Samuel Bowles, born October 15, 1851; married June 12, 1884, Elizabeth Hoar of Concord, Mass. Died, March 14, 1915. Children:

Samuel, born, July 31, 1885; now on the reportorial staff of the *Boston Journal.*

Sherman Hoar, born April 24, 1890; was connected with the *Philadelphia Public Ledger;* later associate manager of the *Springfield Daily News,* an evening paper at Springfield, Mass., which publication was this month (August), purchased by the *Springfield Republican.* Mr. Bowles is now treasurer of the Springfield Republican Company.

Mary Dwight Bowles, born January 10, 1854; married April 3, 1875, W. H. King, son of John L. King of Springfield; now resides in Winnetka, Ill. Children:

William Harding, Jr., born, 1878; died, 1904.

Samuel Bowles, born 1882 or 1883.

Mary Schermerhorn, born September, 1886.

John Lord, born, 1891.

(Then came, at intervals of two years, three children who died at or soon after birth, who were not named).

Charles Allen Bowles, born December 19, 1861; married October, 1885, Nellie Harris, of Rutland, Vt.; now of the firm of Dexter & Bowles, Springfield, dealers in paper makers' supplies. Children:

Dorothy, born January, 29, 1887.

Charles Allen, Jr., born September, 20, 1889.

Chester Bliss, born April 5, 1901.

Dwight Whitney Bowles, born, November 15, 1863; married in 1891, Josephine Porter of Chicago; engaged in newspaper work in New York and Chicago. Child:
Whitney, born 1894.

Ruth Standish Bowles, born December 5, 1865; married, October 30, 1889, to William H. Baldwin, Jr., president of the Long Island Railroad, who died January 3, 1905. (See volume entitled "An American Citizen," a life of Mr. Baldwin by John Graham Brooks). Mrs. Baldwin now resides at Washington, Conn. Children:
Ruth Standish, born August 8, 1890; married September 26, 1914 to John F. Folinsbee, landscape artist.
William H. Baldwin, 3rd, born September 17, 1891, and now connected with the *New York Evening Post.*
Mary Chaffee, born February 19, 1896; died, March, 1897.

Elizabeth Lee Bowles, born December 3, 1867, married December 24, 1891, Frederick Mitchell Munroe, editor of *Brooklyn Life* for nineteen years, also editor of *Town and Country* Magazine. She died at Huntington, L. I., April 26, 1911. Children:
Donald Mitchell, born December 11, 1892; now on the advertizing staff of the *Republican.*
Elizabeth Bowles, born October 9, 1894.
Ruth Schermerhorn, born October 23, 1897.

Samuel Bowles, 1851-1915.

Samuel Bowles, who has just died, began his work on the *Springfield Republican* in 1873, about five years before his father died.

He was born in Springfield, Oct. 15, 1851, attended public and private schools, travelled and studied two and a half years in Europe, took special courses at Yale, in 1871-3 and a term at the University of Berlin. He journeyed in the west so as to know his own country before settling down to his life work. He spent two years as assistant in the editorial department before his father placed him in charge of the business department in 1875.

Under his management the *Republican* has been developed and expanded, to promptly meet the ever changing conditions of newspaper publication; it has been managed safely, sanely, and kept on a sound financial basis,

and held firmly to its great ideals of independent editorial policy.* He erected in 1888 the present building at the corner of Main street and Harrison avenue, in 1910 adding two more stories, making editorial quarters equalled by few other newspaper buildings in the country. He spared no expense or effort to give the *Republican* every new improvement that meant better service to the public, and a cleaner more attractive paper.

He has always regarded the *Republican* from the editor's point of view rather than the publisher's—as an agency for public service; and is said to have been as consistent in this attitude as it is possible for any human being to be consistent.

The Sunday issue of the *Republican* was started in 1878, the same year that he assumed the management.

Mr. Bowles married on June 12, 1884, Elizabeth Hoar of Concord, daughter of Judge Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, brother of the late Senator George Frisbie Hoar. They had two sons, Samuel, born July 31, 1885, who is connected with the *Boston Journal*, and Sherman Hoar, born April 24, 1890, who was associated with the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* for a few years; was manager of an opposition newspaper in Springfield, which has very

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*This policy, declared editorially in February, 1855, is worth referring to here, because it has been more consistently and faithfully followed for a greater length of time than that of any other great daily in New England:

"With the dawn of a new national growth upon the press of America, at the period of which we speak, came also a more perfect intellectual freedom from the shackles of party. The independent press of the country is fast supplanting the merely partisan press. Parties are taking their form and substance from the press and pulpit, rather, than the press and pulpit echoing merely the voice of the party. A merely party organ is now a thing despised. and contemned, and can never take rank as a first class public journal. The *London Times*, the great journal of the world, is a creator, not the creature, of parties. There is not in New York, where journalism in this country has reached its highest material and intellectual perfection, a single party organ in existence. All are emancipated. None conceal facts lest they injure their party. None fear to speak the truth lest they utter treason against merely partisan power. The true purpose of the press is understood and practiced upon. They are the mirrors of the word of fact and of thought. Upon that fact do they comment with freedom, and to that thought do they add its freshest and most earned cumulations.

"Such in its sphere, does the *Republican* aim to be. Whatever it has been in the past, no more shall its distinction be that of a partisan organ, blindly following the will of party and stupidly obeying its behests. It has its principles and purposes. But these are above mere party success. To these it will devote itself. Whenever and wherever the success of men or of parties can advance those principles and purposes, the *Republican* will boldly advocate such success. Whenever men and parties are a stumbling block to the triumph of those principles, they will be as boldly opposed and denounced."

recently been taken over by the *Republican*; and he is now treasurer of the Republican Company. Which, with Richard Hooker at the head of the editorial staff and McDonald M. Munroe on the advertising staff (as already stated), leaves the *Springfield Republican* still under control of the family that has always guided its destinies.

Mr. Bowles was interested in the work of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society and a member of the organization. He was a member of Country Club, the Nayasset club, the Colony club, the Economic club, the Literary club, and the Twentieth Century Limited Club. He was much interested in matters educational, literary, civic, social and charitable.

Mr. Bowles was very active in the Board of Trade of his home city, and was responsible for the initiative taken by Springfield in the "safe and sane" Fourth of July movement that has swept the country in the past few years. Influenced by a letter which Prof. Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University, wrote to the *Republican*, pleading for a rational form of celebration, he urged the president of the board of trade, William W. McClench to lead a movement for the reform. The result of this was an Independence Day Association, with Mr. Bowles on the executive committee, which inaugurated the movement which has since been followed by numberless municipalities.

He was given the honorary degree of A. M. by Amherst College, and the degree of L. H. D. by Olivet College in Michigan. He was one of the directors of the Associated Press.

GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD'S AND COLONEL JONATHAN WARD'S REGIMENTS

General Artemas Ward's Regiment, Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775 —General Artemas Ward's 1st Rregiment, Provincial Army, May-June, 1775—Colonel Jonathan Ward's 32nd Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, July-December, 1775.

By Frank A. Gardner, M. D.

This regiment, composed largely of Worcester County men, also contained many from Middlesex and Hampshire Counties. Colonel Artemas Ward was elected to command it in the autumn of 1774. The following letter refers to the regiment a few months later;

"Shrewsbury, February 27, 1775.

Sir.

At the desire of Mr. Pigeon I am now to advise you that I cannot Provide a company as yet in my Regiment for the train by reason of a person on whom I had dependence failing me but shall provide one with all possible expedition. Captain Job Cushing of Shrewsbury will receive the cannon

In the preparation of this article the author is pleased to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Mr. Artemas Ward, of New York, a lineal descendant of Gen. Artemas Ward, and his biographer.

& take proper care of them. An Instructor I cannot procure. There is a person in this town who understands the Exercise but has of late discovered such Sentiments in Political matters that I dare not trust him.

I am with Esteem
Your humble servant,
Artemas Ward.

March 17th The Cannon above mentioned are to be sent to Mr. Timo Bigelow.

To David Cheever Esq."

General Ward's Regiment which responded to the Lexington alarm contained eleven companies, officered as followes;

Captains	First Lieutenants	Second Lieutenants
Luke Drury	Nathl Sherman	Moses Herrington.
Edmund Brigham		
Aaron Kimball	James Whipple	Thos. Davison
Samuel Wood	Timo. Brigham	Seth Rice
Job Cushing	Asa Rice	Abner Miles
Timothy Bigelow	Jonas Hubbard	John Smith
Seth Morse	Hananiah Parker	James Bowman
Ross Wyman	(Artillery Company)	
Cyprian How	Amasa Granson	Ens. Uriah Eager
William Brigham	Silas Gates	Ithamar Brigham
Seth Washburn	William Watson	Nathaniel Harwood

The regiment marched on the alarm in two separate battalions under the command respectively of Lieut. Colonel Joseph Henshaw and Lieut. Colonel Jonathan Ward. The headings of the original minute rolls in the Massachusetts Archives would indicate that as least the last four of the above named companies were under the immediate command of Lieut. Colonel Jonathan Ward. This division of the regiment is explained in a letter dated May 23d, 1775, and quoted in full under that date.

The field and staff officers of the regiment which answered the call of April 19th, were as follows;

General Artemas Ward, Colonel
Jonathan Ward, Lieut. Colonel
Joseph Henshaw, Lieut. Colonel
William Boyd, Quartermaster
Edward Flint, Surgeon
William Dexter, Surgeon's Mate."

The date of entering service is shown to have been April 19, 1775, in the cases of Lieut. Colonel Jonathan Ward, Quartermaster William Boyd, Surgeon Edward Flint and Surgeon's Mate William Dexter, as that date is given in the pay roll of Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment, dated August 1st, 1775. The following bill shows Lieut. Colonel Joseph Henshaw's official connection with the regiment:

"Jos. Henshaw
Lieut. Col. in Genl Ward's Regt.
To Travel & Service in Consequence of the alarm on the 19th April, 1775, bill £ 14:6:0."

	Colonel	Lt. Colonel	Major	Captains	Subalterns	Adjutant	Quartermaster	Sergeants	Drummers	Fifers	Rank and File	Fit for duty	Sick	Overflows	Total
"	1	1	1												
Capt. Barnes				1	2		1	4	1		52	47	2	3	61
Capt. Fay					1			1	1		29	26	3	2	34
Capt. Cushing				1	1			2	1		48	45	3	2	55
Capt. Mellen					1			3	1		31	29	1	1	36
Capt. Drury					3			1		1	35	33	3	1	41
Capt. Washburn				1				1		1	29	32		1	33
Major Bigelow				1	1			2	1	2	33	41	1	1	43
Capt. Wood				1	1	1		1	1	1	36	41	1	5	47
Capt. Wheelock				1	1			1			30	29	1	1	34
	1	1	1	6	11	1	1	16	6	5	373	323	15	17	384

Cambridge, May 15, 1775

A report of General Ward's Regiment by Moses Wheelock, Adjut."

"To the Honble, the Committee of Safety.
Gentlemen

We the Subscribers, beg leive to inform your Honors who those Gentlemen are that Would be agreeable for us to Serve under as field Officers viz.

Jonathan Ward of Southboro, Colonel
Edward Barns of Marlboro, Lieutenant Colonel
Timothy Bigelow of Worcester, Major

We are, Gentlemen, with the Greatest Esteem
your friends & Humble Servants.

Job Cushing
Josiah Fay
Daniel Barnes
Luke Drury
Samuel Wood
Thos. Boyd in behalf of
Captain Wheelock
James Mellen

Camp at Cambridge, Maye 20, 1775."

A list of the field officers and Captains, May 23, 1775 is preserved in the archives as follows:

"General Artemas Ward, Colonel
Lt. Col. Joseph Henshaw
Major Timothy Bigelow

Captains

Josiah Fay
Job Cushing
Danl Barnes
Luke Drury
————Wood
————Washburn
————Wheelock
Daniel Hubard
————Millens"

A list of Field and Staff officers preserved in Colonel Henshaw's Orderly book, and dated May 23, 1775, is as follows:

"Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq. Reg't
Lt. Col. Jonathan Ward
Ist Major Edward Barns
2nd Major Timothy Bigelow
Adj't James Hart
Qm't William Boyd
Surgeon————."

The total number of officers and privates given at this date was 440.

"In Committee of Safety, Camb'ge May 23d 1775.
To the Honble Provincial Congress at Watertown.
Gentlemen;

There appears to be some considerable difficulty in the adjustment of Genl Ward's Regiment so far as it respects the first that may have the Command under him in his Regiment, the circumstances we beg leave to lay before your Honours.

Colo Joseph Henshaw came down Lieut, Colo. of a Minute Regiment under Genl. Ward & still expects to hold his command under Genl. Ward in sd Regiment upon the present Establishment as he was early applied to by this Committee for yt purpose. Col. Jonathan Ward came down Lieut. Col. under Genl. Ward of the standing Militia and likewise expects to hold his Command under Gen. Ward in the present Establishment, having given out inlisting orders to the Capts in sd Regiment & Seven Captains in sd Regiment desire that Colo Ward may be appointed as appears by a Certificate under their hands. This Committee have applied to General Ward to determine which of sd Colls should have the Command, but he declines to act in the affair. We therefor thot it proper to make this short representation to your Honours that you might in your wisdom put a speedy end to sd Controversy."

The question was evidently settled in favor of Lieut. Colonel Jonathan Ward, as the following and all later returns prove.

"A return of the Officers' Names and Number of Men under the Command of General Ward, their Chief Colonel

Jonathan Ward of Southboro, Lieut, Col.
Edward Barns of Marlborough, 1st Major
Timothy Bigelow of Worcester, 2nd Major

Capt. Josiah Fay of Southboro	1
1st Lieut————	
2nd Lieut————	
No. of Men	31

Capt. Seth Washburn of Scituate	1
1st Lieut Joseph Livermore*	
2nd " Lowring Lincoln*	
No. of Men	33

Capt. Job Cushing of Shrewsbury	1
1st Lieut, Ezra Beaman Do	1
2nd " Asa Rice Do	1
No. of Men	57

Capt. Daniel Barnes of Marlboro	1
1st Lieut. William Morse Do	1
2nd " Paul Brigham Do	1
No. of Men	49

Capt. James Millen of Hopkinton	1
1st Lieut. Abel Perry of Natick	1
2nd " Aaron Abby of Hopkinton	1
No. of Men	51

Capt. Luke Drury of Grafton	1
1st Lieut. Asaph Sherman Do	1
2nd " Jonas Brown Do	1
No. of Men	42

Capt. Jonas Hubbard of Worcester	1
1st Lieut John Smith Do	1
2nd " William Gates Do	1
No. of Men	50

*Names written in.

Capt. Sam'l Wood of Northborough	1
1st Lieut. Timothy Brigham	1
2nd Lieut. Thomas Sever	1
No. of Men	42
Capt. Moses Wheelock of Westborough	1
1st Lieut. Thomas Bond	1
2nd " Obediah Man*	1
No. of Men	41
James Hart, Adjutant	1
William Boyd, Quarter Master	1
Total number of men Including Non Commissioned Officers	417
Total of Commissioned and field officers	23
Total in the Whole	440

Pr. James Hart, Adjutant
May ye 24: 1775."

(Written in the back)

"————Smith, Cap.
Moses Kellog. Lieut.
Elisha Liman, Ens.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 25, 1775

"Resolved that commissions be given out to General Ward's Regiment agreeable to the within list:

Sam. Freeman, Secy Pr.
Moses Kellog, L.
Elisha Liman, E.
Lowring Lincoln, E.
Obidah Man, E.

Gen. (Col. Jona.) Ward's list."

*Names written in.

"In Provincial Congress Watertown May 25 1775

"Resolved as the opinion of this Congress that Coll. Ward is best intitled to receive the Commission as Lieut. Col. of the regiment which was desputed by Lieut. Col. Henshaw.

Sam Freeman, Secy P. T."

"A return of General Ward's Regiment.

Capt. Josiah Fay	32
Capt. Washbourne	34
Capt. Cushing	60
Capt. Barnes	52
Capt. Miller	59
Capt. Drury	45
Capt. Hubbard	61
Capt. Ward	45
Capt. Wheelock	49."

May 27, 1775

The following account of the work of this regiment in the Battle of Bunker Hill is given by Frothingham in his "History of the Seige of Boston."

"This regiment was not ordered to Charlestown until late in the afternoon, and halted on its way; but a detachment from it pushed on and arrived in season to take part in the action. Lieutenant Colonel Ward, with a few troops, reached the rail fence; and Captains Cushing and Washburn, and another company fired upon the British after the retreat commenced from the redoubt. The remainder of the regiment, under Major Barnes, retreated before it got near enough to engage the enemy." On page 151 of the same work Frothingham gives the name of the other company above referred to as "Smith's" (commanded by Captain Eliakim Smith).

Nathan Craige, of Captain Washburn's company, Jonathan Ward's regiment,—a man with "a clear and unimpaired memory and a character for honesty and integrity which was never impeached, gave to his statement the force of truth," made the following statement:

"Before they arrived at the Neck, they were met by a man on horse-
"back (said to be Dr. Church) who told the commander to halt his men;
"that orders had been sent, that no more troops should go into the action.
"Major Barnes, who was then in command, gave the order to halt. Where-
"upon Capt. Washburn, stepping out of the column, addressing his men,
"exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Those are Tory orders: I shan't obey them.
"Who will follow me?' Every man of his company at once left the column,
"and passed on towards the hill. Capt. Wood of Northborough, with his
"company, and, as appears by Mr. Frothingham's narrative, Capt. Cush-
"ing also, left the regiment, and came into the action about the same time
"that Capt. Washburn did." (See Washburn's "History of Leicester, pp. 303-4.)

"Col. Ward, with his regiment, having nearly reached Charlestown
"Neck, there met a gentleman (said to have been Dr. Benjamin Church,
"one of the Committee of Safety, and who afterwards, proved himself a
"traitor) coming from Charlestown on horseback, who inquired of Col.
"Ward to what point he was marching his regiment. 'To the hill,' was the
"answer. 'Have you not had counter orders?' 'I have not.' 'You will
'have soon. Halt here.' The regiment advanced no further. Some few
"found means to leave it and cross the neck, but soon met the Provincials
"retreating." (Ward's "History of Shrewsbury, p. 55.)

According to the statement given in Force 4—II, 1628, one man in this regiment was killed and six wounded. The following note appears in the records of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, December 15, 1775:

"Leave was given to Colonel Ward to withdraw his Return of those men in General Ward's Regiment who lost their clothes in the battle of the 17th of June last."

During May and June this regiment was known as General Artemas Ward's First Regiment in the Provincial Army, and when the army was reorganized in the early part of July, 1775, it became Colonel Jonathan Ward's 32nd Regiment, in the Army of the United Colonies. The names of the Captains in this new regiment with the towns most largely represented appear in the following table:

"Col. Jonathan Ward's Reg't.

Captains
Samuel Wood. Northboro, Bolton, etc.
James Mellen, Hopkinton, Natick.
James Hubbard, Worcester.
Moses Wheelock, Westboro, etc. Wrentham.
Josiah Fay, Southboro, Worcester, Etc.
Job Cushing, Shrewsbury, etc.
Moses Kellogg, Hadley, Northfield, Amherst, etc.
Seth Washburn, Leicester, Spencer, Oakham, etc.
Daniel Barnes, Marlboro, Sudbury, etc.
Luke Drury, Grafton, etc.

"A Petition of Recruiting Officers in General Ward's Regiment praying this Court to order payment to them of 4 pounds each, agreeable to a Resolve of the late Congress was read and committed to Deacon Rawson, Captain Dicks and Mr. Crane."

Major Timothy Bigelow of this regiment was one of the staff officers under Arnold in the Quebec Expedition in September 1775, and one of the Companies in this Expedition was commanded by a Captain of this regiment, Captain Jonas Hubbard of Worcester.

In the first plan of organization of that expedition, Major Timothy Bigelow was assigned to the second battalion, under Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Green, with Captain Hubbard's Company, one of five companies, under them. When the expedition was redivided at Fort Weston these line officers were in the second division and Captain Hubbard's Company was one of the three under them. Both of these officers were taken prisoners at Quebec, and January 1, 1776, Captain Hubbard died of wounds received there. The remainder of the regiment was on duty at Dorchester through the latter part of the year. December 4, 1775, a company of men from Marlborough, Southborough, and Northborough enlisted in this regiment. Officers of this company were as follows: Captain Silas Gates and Lieutenants Elijah Bellows and Joel Rice. These officers were not commissioned until January 29, 1776.

The officers of this regiment attained rank as follows, during the war: major general 1, colonel 5, lieut. colonel commandant 2, lieut. colonel 2, major 1, captain 25, first lieutenant 9, second lieutenant 9, surgeon 1, surgeon's mate 1, chaplain 1 and adjutant (rank not given) 1

The regiment was stationed at Dorchester nearly all of the time during the service of 1775.

Forty-five of the commissioned officers of this regiment had seen service in the French and Indian War, one of whom has held the rank of Colonel, one Captain, one Lieutenant, five Ensigns, one Chaplain and one Surgeon's Mate.

General Artemas Ward's Regiment.

The following table shows the strength of the regiment during the different months of the year:—

	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Com	Rank & File	Total
June 9, 1775	28		32	492*	552
July 23, 1775		5	55†	453	513
August 18, 1775	28	3	57	452	540
September 23, 1775	22	5	56	454	537
October 17, 1775	28	5	56	450	539
November 18, 1775	23	5	57	437	522
December 30, 1775	26	4	56	426	512

*Including corporals, fifers, drummers and privates.
†Including drummers and fifers.

MAJOR-GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD was born in Shrewsbury Nov. 26, 1727. He was the son of Col. Nahum & Martha (Howe) Ward. He graduated from Harvard in 1748.

On Jan. 28, 1755, he was commissioned Captain of the First Company of militia of Shrewsbury and Major in the "3rd regiment of militia in the county of Middlesex and Worcester. . . whereof Abraham Williams, Esq. is Colonel."

Early in 1758 he was commissioned Major in the regiment of Col. Wm. Williams, raised "for the general invasion of Canada," and took part in Abercrombie's Ticonderoga campaign, being promoted to Lieut. Col. on July 3, 1758.

On July 1, 1762 he became Colonel of the Third Regiment of militia of Middlesex and Worcester counties, continuing in its command until 1766, The episode of his removal is part of the political history of Massachusetts. It followed close upon his alignment against the prerogative party, in the political unrest fomented by the Stamp Act—and it was a summary action, put into effect without notice by the following communication delivered by a special mounted messenger:

"Boston, June 30, 1766.

To Artemas Ward, Esq.

Sir—

I am ordered by the Governor to signify to you, that he has thought fit to supersede your commisison of Colonel in the Regiment of Militia, lying in part in the County of Worcester and in part in the County of Middlesex, and your commission is superseded accordingly.

I am, Sir, your most
Ob't and Humble Sv't
Jno. Cotton,
Dep,ty Sec,y."

In return, Colonel Ward sent his compliments to the Governor as follows:

"Tell him that I consider myself *twice* honored, but more in being super-
"seded than in being commissioned, and that I thank him for this"(hold-
"ing up the letter to the messenger) "since the motive that dictated it, is
"evidence that *I am*, what *he is not, a friend to my country.*"

Gen. Ward did not again hold military command until the fall of 1774 when his old regiment, throwing aside the crown commissions, elected him colonel—this action preceding by 24 days his election as General Officer by the Provincial Congress.

Gen. Ward was early prominent in the civil life of his community. He became a Justice of the Peace at the age of 23 and held at various times many town offices—town and church "moderator," selectman, town clerk, assessor and treasurer. In 1757 he was elected representative to the General Court—the first of 16 terms in that capacity. In 1762 he was appointed Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Worcester Co.

In 1768 the House elected him to the Council—the outcome of a sensational contest with the supporters of Lieut.-Gov. Hutchinson- but his appointment was vetoed by Gov. Barnard. He was again elected to the Council in 1769 and again negatived He was elected for the third time. in 1770, finally being permitted to take his seat at the Board. He was continuously re-elected thereafter until the days of the "mandamus" councillors, immediately preceding the Revolution.

He was a prominent member of the first and second Provincial Congresses (1774 & 1775), both of which appointed him second General Officer of the military forces of the province.

Gen. Ward was in Shrewsbury at the time of the Lexington-Concord fight. Though ill and in bed, he lost no time in getting to Cambridge, arriving there, nearly 40 miles away, on the day following. Gen. Preble the First General Officer, being incapacitated, he immediately took the supreme military command.

Gen. Ward was the responsible central figure of the hastily gathered, undisciplined, fluctuating army of militiamen which, then and there, commenced the siege of Boston—but he was without authority to enlist the men, pay them or hold them, except by the strength of the common-cause spirit and the force of his own personality and that of other military and civilian leaders. This was a very uncertain tenure—the men were ready to fight, but not inclined to sit down and wait for possible encounters, while their farm and other home duties called for attention.

On April 23, Gen. Ward wrote to the Provincial Congress, imploring immediate action on the measures necessary for the organization of an army:—

"Headquarters April 23, 1775

Gentlemen:

My situation is such that if I have not enlisting orders immediately I shall be left all alone. It is impossible to keep the men here, excepting something be done. I therefore pray that the plan may be completed and handed to me this morning, that you, gentlemen of the Congress, issue orders for enlisting men, I am gentlemen, yours, etc.

Artemas Ward

To the Hon. Delegates of the Provincial Congress."

On the same day, the Provincial Congress—

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that it is necessary for the defence of the "colony that an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised and established."

Resolved, "That 13,000 men be raised immediately by this province."

Resolved, "That the Committee of Safety be a committee to bring in "a plan for the establishment of the officers and soldiers necessary for the "men to be immediately raised, and that they sit immediately."

Gen. Ward's commission as Commander-in-Chief, as follows, was finally prepared on May 18, amended on May 19 and delivered on May 20.

"The Congress of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay
To the Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.,
Greeting:

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage and good "conduct, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, the said Arte-"mas Ward, to be General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised "by the Congress aforesaid, for the defence of this and the other American "Colonies.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duties "of a General, in leading, ordering and exercising the said Forces in Arms," "both inferior officers and soldiers; and to keep them in good order and "discipline, and they are hereby commanded to obey you as their General; "and you are yourself to observe and follow such orders and instructions

"as you shall, from time to time, receive from this, or any future congress "or house of representatives of this colony, or the Committee of Safety," "so far as said committee is empowered by their commission, to order and "instruct you, for the defence of this and the other colonies; and to demean "yourself according to the military rules and discipline established by said "Congress, in pursuance of the trust reposed on you.'

Despite the initial difficulties, and the lack of clothing, tents and ammunition, the siege was successfully maintained and the lines taken by Gen. Ward and his officers during those first weeks were, to a large extent, those held throughout the campaign. Gen. Washington, after his arrival and inspection in July, paid a tribute to the great amount of labor which the works represented and reported that "considering the great extent of lines "and the nature of the ground," the American lines were "as well secured "as could be expected in so short a time and with the disadvantages we "labour under."

The history of Gen. Ward's command from April 20 to the coming of Washington is that of the Siege of Boston as related by many writers. So one may pass that intensely interesting period without comment excepting for some reference to the battle of "Bunker Hill."

It was on the 15th of June that the committee of Safety resolved that the position on "Bunker's Hill" in Charlestown be securely kept and defended, and also some hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured, and made these and other recommendations to the Council of War. General Ward proceeded to carry out these orders.

The advisibility of occupying Bunker Hill was doubted by several of the leading officers of the Patriot Army, including Generals Ward and Warren, chiefly because the army was not in condition in regard to cannon and powder "to maintain so exposed a post; and because it might bring on a general engagement which it was neither politic nor safe to risk." The active operations which General Gage had planned however, made it necessary to act quicker than they had desired. General Gage had fixed upon June 18th as the date on which he expected to take possession of Dorchester Heights and the American Commander learned of this on June 13th. This

brought about the order of the 15th to take possession of these posts. The occupation of Breed's Hill on the night of June 16th and the battle of Bunker Hill on the day following was carried on under order given by General Artemas Ward as Commander-in-Chief of the Provincial Army from his headquarters at Cambridge. A detailed account of this battle has been given in connection with the history of the Regiment of Colonel William Prescott (See Massachusetts Magazine, Volume 1, Page 150 to 167). It is therefore unnecessary to repeat this story in detail in this connection. The wisdom of General Ward in remaining at his headquarters at Cambridge and directing the battle from there was clearly shown in the resulting movements of the days following the battle. While the patriots did not fully realize it at the time it was most fortunate that they withdrew from the Charlestown peninsula when they did, as the plans of Clinton would have undoubtedly been carried out on the 18th and the Patriots caught in a trap in the Charlestown peninsula.

On that same day of the Bunker Hill battle, Gen. Ward was appointed First Major-General of the Continental Army.

The dearth of supplies and the lack of discipline were not the only difficulties of Gen. Ward's position. He also had to contend with a jealous fear lurking in civilian breasts that the military power might grow beyond their control.

On June 26, the Provincial Congress had

"Resolved, that all the small arms that are or may be procured by the above order, be delivered to the Committee of Safety, at Cambridge, they to give receipts for the same to the person from whom they receive them; that the same be delivered out to such officers as shall produce orders therefor from the Hon. General Ward, they giving receipts for the same to the said Committee of Safety, to be returned in good condition, unless long in the service of the Colony."

Accordingly, on June 28, Gen. Ward issued the following order:

"Headquarters, Cambridge, June 28, 1775. The General orders that the commanding officer of each regiment make application to the Committee of Safety for so many fire-arms as their respective regiment stand in need

of; each commanding officer to give his receipt for the fire-arms he may receive, and the Committee of Safety are hereby ordered to deliver out arms to such commanding officers as make application to them for the same."

The sentence, the "*Committee of Safety are hereby ordered,*" acted like the proverbial red rag on the members of the committee and they immediately sent a hot protest to the Provincial Congress which embodied the Committee's "apprehension"

"that it is of vast importance that no orders are issued by the Military or obeyed by the Civil powers, but only such as are directed by the Honble. Representative body of this People, from whom all Military & Civil power originates. And tho' this Comtee are satisfied that Genl. Ward has misunderstood said Resolve, & does not mean or intend to set up the military power above the Civil, yet, lest this order of the General's should be adduced as a precedent in future, we think it our indispensible duty to protest against the General's said order; notwithstanding which *protest* we also think it our indispensible duty to deliver said arms agreeable to the Spirit of said Resolve, & as the exigency of the public requires, & submit our conduct to the Honble. Congress."

General Ward had the reputation of showing great concern for the comfort and welfare of his men. This idea is well borne out in the following letter—which also shows his appreciation of the great danger to the Patriot cause from the exposed conditions of his men.

"Cambridge, June 24, 1775. Gentlemen: If it is expected our lines be maintained & defended, it is absolutely necessary the men be covered, there are many men that are ordered to the line, which have nothing to cover them but the heavens. Men cannot be comfortable when they are both day and night without covering. I must begg & pray that some covering may be this day provided for them. If not the men will get their deaths & there will be a universal uneasiness in the camp, such uneasiness as I shall not be able to lay.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

Artemas Ward.

P. S. If our men must be in the rain
without covering & we should be attacked
immediately after ye rain is over pray what
are we to Expect? Destruction."

When the Army was reorganized in July 1775 General Ward was placed in command of the first division, stationed "at Roxbury and its southern dependencies," consisting of two brigades, under Brigadier General Thomas and Brigadier General Spencer. To his division was entrusted the fortification of Dorchester Heights on the night of March 4 which resulted in the evacuation of Boston by the English. When the British left Boston on March 17, 1776, General Ward, with 5000 of the troops at Roxbury, made a triumphal entry through the gates of Boston Neck.

After the British fleet had sailed away from Nantasket, General Washington ordered his whole army to the South with the exception of five regiments which he left in and about Boston under command of General Ward. Two of these regiments were in Boston, one at Dorchester Heights, one at Charlestown and one at Beverly. General Ward employed the troops in his command in throwing up works on Fort Hill in Boston, Charlestown Point, Castle Island, Noodle's Island and other places under the immediate supervision of Colonel Gridley.

On March 22, 1776, Gen. Ward on account of continued ill health had tendered his resignation, but at the request of Washington and the repeated requests of the Continental Congress he remained in charge of the Eastern Department until March 20, 1777.

In the meantime, he had been appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Worcester Co. (which post he filled for 22 years) and elected to the Executive Council of Massachusetts.

After the resignation of his Continental command, Gen. Ward was during a considerable part of the time President of the Executive Council.

In 1779 he was elected to the Continental Congress and reelected in the following year. He attended its sessions from June 14, 1780 to the same

date of the following year, serving on the Board of War during his entire stay, as well as on a number of committees, including the "Grand Committee" to consider the plan to invest the United States with power to carry out the Articles of Confederation.

He was again reelected to the Continental Congress, but declined because of ill health.

His constituents thereupon returned him as Representative to the Massachusetts House and the House elected him State Senator, but he refused the latter appointment.

In 1786 he was made Speaker of the House and in the same year he figured prominently in the support of the government during the disturbances of Shays's rebellion. On Sept. 5 occured one of the most picturesque incidents of his career when he harangued the rebels from the steps of the Worcester Court House, defying Shays's men to silence him though their bayonets were thrust through his clothes.

In 1790 he was elected Representative to the second United States Congress and in 1792 was reelected to the third Congress.

He died on Oct 28, 1800, aged 73 years.

A contemporary, Dr. Belknap, described him as a "cool calm thoughtful man" and Frothingham truly remarks that he was a "true patriot, had many private virtues, and was prudent and highly esteemed."

The following inscription appears on the family monument in the Shrewsbury cemetary:

"Firmness of mind and integrity of purpose were characteristic of his "whole life—so that he was never swayed by the applause or the censure of "man, but ever acted under the deep sense of duty to his country and ac- "countability to his God. Long will his memory be precious among the "friends of Liberty and Religion."

The "Ward Homestead" at Shrewsbury, Mass.—in which General Ward lived for nearly half a century and in which he died—is maintained as a memorial to him by his great-grandson, Mr. Artemas Ward of New York. It is open from May 15 to October 30 (except Sundays). Visitors, either

as individuals or as delegates of patriotic societies, are always welcome. Its collections well repay a visit. There is no admission charge.

Among recent additions to the Homestead is a full-size photo-print facsimile of General Ward's Orderly Book—a tone of 350 large pages. Students of that all-important period of our national life will find its perusal of absorbing interest.

COLONEL JONATHAN WARD of Southborough was the son of Hezikiah and Abigail (Perry) Ward. He was a member of Colonel Timothy Brigham's (Southborough) Company, April 29, 1757, his name appearing on the alarm list. Later he was Captain of a Southborough Company in Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment in which Regiment Ezra Taylor was appointed Colonel in 1766. As Lieutentant-Colonel, he commanded the regular militia of General Artemas Ward which marched on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 as shown in the beginning of the historical section of this article. Lieutenant Colonel Ward was appointed field officer of the day, May 12, 1775. From May 25th to June 15, 1775 he was Lieutenant Colonel in General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment in the Provincial Army, and on the latter date was appointed Colonel. When the Army was reorganized in July he became Colonel of the 32nd Regiment, Army of the United Colonies and served through the year. During 1776 he was commander of the 21st Regiment, Continental Army. He was for many years a magistrate and died at Southborough July 7, 1791 aged 64 years. He is characterized in the "Ward Family" as "a valiant officer and efficient in discipline."

LIEUTENANT COLONEL EDWARD BARNS (BARNES) of Marlbourough, was the son of Edward and Grace Barnes and was born in that town March 2, 1743-4. He graduated from Harvard College in 1764. He was a member of the Middlesex County Convention in August 1774, and was a member of the First Provincial Congress from Marlborough in October 1774. He served on various committees in this Congress including one with Colonels Heath, Gerrish, Gardner, Thomas and others "to take into consideration a plan of military exercises proposed

by Capt. Timothy Pickering." He was commissioned May 25, 1775 as First Major of General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and when Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Ward was promoted to the rank of Colonel, in command of the Regiment, Major Barnes became Lieutenant Colonel and served through the year in this organization. May 10, 1776 he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Ezekial How's 4th Middlesex Regiment, but he declined to serve and on June 26, 1776 Lieutenant Colonel Cyprian How was appointed in his stead. He died in Marlborough November 16, 1803, aged 59 years.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOSEPH HENSHAW of Leicester was the son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Bass) Henshaw, and was born in 1727. He served as Lieutenant Colonel of General Artemas Ward's Regiment of minute men on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, as shown by the affidavit printed in the historical section of this article. The "minute men" being absorbed, he claimed the post of Lieut.-Colonel in the Gen. Artemas Ward Regiment opposing the claim of Jonathan Ward, who had commanded the regular or "standing" militia regiment under Gen. Ward. The following Act of Congress explains itself:

"Resolved that the opinion of this Congress that Collo. Ward is first entitled to receive the commission as Lieut. Col. of the Regiment which right was desputed by Lieut. Col. Henshaw."

He removed from Liecester to Shrewsbury about 1781, and died in the latter place March 19, 1794, aged 67 years.

MAJOR TIMOTHY BIGELOW of Worcester was the son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Whitney) Bigelow. He was born in Worcester, August 12, 1739. He was a blacksmith by trade. April 15, 1760 he enlisted for service in Canada in Captain Jonathan Butterfield's Company. At that time he was twenty-one years old and a resident of Shrewsbury. He was one of the most active in the local committee of correspondence in Worcester and various secret meetings of patriotic bodies were held at his house. He was a member of the Provincial Congress 1774-5. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched in command of a Company of Minute

Men from Worcester in General Artemas Ward's Regiment. His name appears in the rank of Major in the list of officers of the Maine Guards dated May 8, 1775. On the 25th of that month he was commissioned Second Major in General Artemas Ward's First Regiment, Provincial Army. He continued to serve through the year under General Artemas Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. He accompanied Arnold on his expedition up the Kennebec to Quebec.

He was captured in the attack on Quebec and was held a prisoner until May 1776, when he joined Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment, Continental Army to which office he had been appointed the first of the year. January 1, 1777 he was appointed Colonel in command of the 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he did excellent service with this regiment until he retired January 1, 1781. His mansion house in Worcester was on Main Street opposite the Worcester County Court House, near Lincoln Square. He died March 31, 1790. A fitting monument was erected over his grave on the old Worcester Common in 1861 by his great grandson, Colonel Timothy Lawrence Bigelow.

ADJUTANT JAMES HART of Northborough was engaged April 26, 1775 to serve in that rank in General Artemas Ward's Regiment and he served through the year in that office, and during 1776 was Second Lieutenant and Adjutant in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment, Continental Army. On the Bennington Alarm in August 1777 he served as Adjutant in Colonel Abijah Stearn's 8th Worcester County Regiment commanded by Major Ebenezer Bridge.

QUARTERMASTER WILLIAM BOYD of Marlborough was the son of John and Ann (Glenn) Boyd, and was born in 1735. He came to Marlborough when he was twelve years of age, and was adopted by a Mr. Stratton, later inheriting his estate. From April 3rd to November 8, 1758 he was a private in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. The following year at the age of 23 he enlisted under the same Captain in Colonel Abraham William's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as a private in Captain Daniel

Barnes's Company, and May 25, 1775 was commissioned Quartermaster in General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving through the year, under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant and Quatermaster in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment, Continental Army. He died August 5, 1817, aged 82 years.

CHAPLAIN EBENEZER CLEAVELAND was the son of Josiah and Abigail (Paine) Cleaveland. He was born in Canterbury, Ct., December 25, 1725, and graduated from Yale College in the class of 1748. He commenced to preach at Sandy Bay (Rockport) in 1751. It is stated in the Cleaveland Genealogy that he served as Chaplain of a Massachusetts Regiment in the French and Indian War and that he was at Ticonderoga the following year. In 1768 his parish granted him a six month's leave of absence on a tour to the Mohawks. He was appointed, with Ralph Wheelock to wait on Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire "to know what encouragement they will give to accomplish the Indian school established by Mr. Wheelock." This finally resulted in the establishment of Dartmouth College. May 19, 1775 he was engaged as Chaplain of Colonel Ward's Regiment. "June 11, 1775 the church halted after the blessing and voted that their pastor have the liberty to serve the army as Chaplain," and he was absent in the army most of the time during the War. With Colonel Jonathan Ward he signed a spirited memorial at Dorchester, September 27, 1775 "against secret enemies and Tories." He died at what is now Rockport, July 4, 1805. The inscription on his monument states that "He was a sincere friend to his country, a firm supporter of the doctrine of free grace, and even declared in his last moments that they were the ground of his hope of immortal glory."

SURGEON EDWARD FLINT was evidently the man who served as Surgeon's Mate in Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment from March 27th to December 17, 1755, April 19. 1775 he was engaged as Surgeon in General Artemas Ward's Regiment and he served at least until August 1st and probably through the year. His place of residence is not given in any of the above records of service.

SURGEON MATE'S WILLIAM DEXTER of Shrewsbury was engaged to serve in that rank in General Artemas Ward's Regiment April 19, 1775 and he served through the year under General Artemas Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. He died December 4, 1785.

CAPTAIN DANIEL BARNES of Marlborough was the son of Daniel and Zeruiah (Eager) Barnes. He was born July 19, 1736. From April 6th to November 30, 1759 he was a private in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company and in the following year served as Ensign under Captain William Williams from June 10th to December 2nd. April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company from Marlborough on the Lexington alarm, and on the 26th of that month enlisted as Captain in General Ward's Regiment, serving through the year. From January 1, 1777 to May 6, 1779 he was in Colonel Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line.

CAPTAIN EDMUND BRIGHAM of Westborough (also given Grafton) was evidently the man whose name appeared without date during the French and Indian War, as one of the soldiers of Southborough. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men in General Ward's Regiment. He served twenty-two and a half days. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned Captain of the 3d Company in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment, and in August 1777 marched as Captain of a company of this same Regiment, under Colonel Job Cushing to reinforce the Northern Army. The company was ordered "to be mounted if possible." February 10, 1779 he sent a petition as Captain of the 3d Company, 6th Worcester County Regiment "asking to be allowed to resign on account of injuries received by a kick from a horse; granted in Council February 11, 1779." He was selectman of Marlborough in 1779, 1787, 1788, 1791-3.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRIGHAM of Marlborough was probably the son of Joel and Mary (Church) Brigham who was born in Marlborough March 20, 1742. His name appears in the list of men in Colonel Timothy Brigham's Southborough Company, April 29, 1757. On the Lexington

alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a Company in General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving 17 days.

CAPTAIN JOB CUSHING of Shrewsbury was the son of the Reverend Job and Mary Cushing. He was born in Shrewsbury, January 1, 1727-8. He was a private in Captain Artemas Ward's 1st Company of Militia of Shrewsbury in March, 1757.

At a meeting of the Worcester County Convention, January 26, 1774, Captain Job Cushing was a member of a committee "to take into consideration a plan for this county to adopt respecting the non-consumptive covenant of the Continental Provincial Congress and report thereon." On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men in General Artemas Ward's Regiment. April 28, 1775 he was engaged to serve in the same rank in General Artemas Ward's 1st. Regiment, Provincial Army, and served under General Ward through the year. January 12, 1776 he was appointed 1st Major of Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment, receiving his commission March 23, 1776, From another record in the archives, not dated, it appears that he also served for a time as Major in Colonel Nathan Sparhawk's 7th Worcester County Regiment. June 16, 1777 he was commissioned Colonel of the 6th Worcester County Regiment, and July 25, 1777 was engaged as Colonel to serve with his regiment in Colonel Warner's Brigade on the Bennington Alarm, serving until October 12, of that year. He died in Shrewsbury on April 16, 1808. aged 80 years.

CAPTAIN LUKE DRURY of Grafton was the son of Captain Thomas and Sarah (Clarke) Drury. He was born in Grafton, March 11, 1737. March 25, 1757 his name appears on the alarm list in Captain Samuel Warren's Grafton Company. At the Worcester Convention, August 30, 1774, he was appointed with Captain Joseph Henshaw, Mr. Timothy Bigelow and others on a committe of nine "to take into consideration the state of public affairs, etc." and he served on other committees in the same convention. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Captain of a Company of Minute Men in General Ward's Regiment, and four days later was

engaged to serve under that officer in the Provincial Army. He served under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward through the year. May 28, 1775 the Committee of Safety presented a number of guns to Captain Drury for the use of his Company. A number of men belonging to his Company were given permission, June 14, 1775, to join "such regiment as shall appear of major part of that company are in favor of when called upon for that purpose." From July 18th to December 4, 1781 he was Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of a regiment detached for service at West Point. He officiated in his town as constable, deputy sheriff, collector, assessor, selectman, representative and moderator. He died in Marlborough, April 1, 1811 at 74. "He was possessed of good natural abilities with strong power of mind, little improved by education," according to Pierce in his History of Grafton.

CAPTAIN JOSIAH FAY of Southborough was born in Westborough about 1732. As a resident of Southborough he served as centinel in Captain William Flint's Company, Colonel Winslow's Regiment from May 31st. to September 15, 1754. This service was "in defense of the Eastern Frontier." From April 14th to December 13, 1755 he was a Sergeant in Captain John Taplin's Company on the Crown Point Expedition and in the following year he served as Lieutenant under the same officer, also in an expedition to Crown Point. August 31, 1756 he was at Fort William Henry as Lieutenant in Captain John Taplin's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment. April 29, 1757 he was Lieutenant in Colonel Timothy Brigham's Southborough Company. He was a member of the Worcester County Convention in January 1774 and served on a committee "to take into consideration, the conduct of certain persons inimical to their country." February 1, 1775 he was a member from Southborough of the Second Provincial Congress. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he commanded a company of Minute Men, and April 24, was engaged as Captain in General Ward's First Regiment Provincial Army, and he served under General Ward, and Colonel Jonathan Ward through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment Continental Army, and served

until his death, on the 8th of August of that year. In the vital records of Southborough he is called Major.

CAPTAIN SILAS GATES of Marlborough was the son of Simon and Sarah (Woods) Gates. He was born in that town February 3, 1727. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain William Brigham's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment and served 12 days. December 4, 1775, he was engaged Captain of a company of men from Marlborough, Southborough and Northborough, which joined Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment and served during that month and until the last of January. January 29, 1776, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment, Continental Army. Josiah Stone one of the committee from Middlesex County, in a letter to the county, dated September 5, 1776, stated that he had raised 45 men from the town of Framingham, who had marched July 29, 1776 under command of Colonel Jonathan Reed (6th Worcester County Militia). He received his commission in this service July 25, 1776 and he served until November 30th of that year. He died August 25, 1793.

CAPTAIN CYPRIAN HOW of Marlborough was the son of John and Thankful (Bigelow) How. He was born in Marlborough, March 29, 1726. He kept a public house in that town. He was Captain of a Company of Minute Men which marched to Cambridge on the Lexington alarm, serving until his company was dismissed May 4, 1775. February 15, 1776, he was commissioned Second Major in Colonel Henry Gardner's 4th Middlesex County Regiment but declined to serve, and June 26, 1776 was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel in the same Regiment. In a return dated December 5, 1776, his name appears in a list of officers in the 1st Middlesex County Regiment, commanded by Colonel Samuel Thatcher. February 26, 1779 he was commissioned Colonel of the 4th Middlesex County Regiment, and he held that rank until his discharge, October 31, 1780. The regiment was stationed during the time in Rhode Island.

CAPTAIN JONAS HUBBARD of Worcester was the son of Daniel and Dorothy Hubbard, and was born May 21, 1739. He, with Mr. Edward

Crafts, were a committee appointed to convey complaint of the selectmen of the town of Worcester against Samuel Paine and William Campbell, May 10, 1775. He served as First Lieutenant in Captain Timothy Bigelow's Company of Minute Men of Militia in Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment which marched in the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in General Artemas Ward's regiment, and he served through the year under General Artemas Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. He commanded a company in Arnold's expedition against Quebec, said company being assigned to the 2nd Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Green, and in the 2nd Division under Lieutenant Colonel Green after the reorganization at Fort Weston in storming Quebec. December 31, 1775 he "received a severe wound beneath the ramparts of the lower town; refusing to be removed he perished in the snow storm which raged with unusual violence."

CAPTAIN MOSES KELLOGG of Hadley was the son of Lieutenant Nathaniel and Sarah (Preston) Kellogg. He was born in Hadley in 1733. He was probably the man of that name who served as a private in Captain Ezra Clapp's Westfield Company of the South Hampshire County Regiment on the Fort William Henry alarm of 1757. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Eliakim Smith's Company, and April 27th enlisted as First Lieutenant under the same Captain in General Artemas Ward's Regiment. In a company return (probably October 1775) his name appears as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment. In August 1776 his commission was ordered as First Lieutenant in Captain Oliver Lyman's Company, Colonel Nicholas Dike's Regiment, formed for the defence of Boston. From September 23rd to October 18, 1777 he was Captain in Colonel Elisha Porter's 4th Hampshire County Regiment. He served as one of the selectmen of Hadley in 1775 & 1777. He died in Hadley May 28, 1815, aged 82 years.

CAPTAIN AARON KIMBALL of Grafton was the son of Richard and Sarah (Burley) Kimball. He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, February 18, 1729-30. His name appears on the training band list of Grafton, March 23, 1757. In August of that year he was a private in Lieutenant

James Whipple's Company, Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Fort William Henry alarm, from Grafton to Westfield. He commanded a company of militia in General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775. April 17, 1776 his commission was ordered as Captain of the 1st (Grafton) Company in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment. Later he was Captain of a company from Grafton in the Regiment under Colonel Nathan Sparhawk, and marched to New York to assist General George Clinton. The muster roll of the regiment is in the archives of New York State and shows service in New Jersey in January 1777. He died in Grafton, November 20, 1807 in his 78th year.

CAPTAIN JAMES MELLEN was the son of Thomas and Elizabeth Mellen and was born in Hopkinton, June 10, 1739. He served in Captain Tyler's Company; Colonel William William's Regiment in 1758. In the Massachusetts Archives, Volume 97, page 152A, Ensign James Mellen appears as "Cominshears in Conll Jones Regiment," under General Amherst From March 31st to November 30, 1759 he was an Ensign in Captain Leonard Whiting's Company, Brigadier General Ruggles's Regiment, in an expedition to Crown Point. He was a member of the First Provincial Congress from Hopkinton in October 1774. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward through the year. January 1, 1776 he became Captain in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment, Continental Army, and on the 15th of August, 1776, was promoted to Major of that Regiment. November 1, 1776 he was commissioned to Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel James Wesson's 9th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. January 1, 1781 he was transferred in the same rank to Colonel William Shepherd's 4th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and in 1782, served for a time at least as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of Colonel Shepherd's Regiment. January 7, 1783 he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the 3rd Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he served to June 3, 1783. In the "History of Milford" it is stated that he "returned home from the war worn out in health, poor in property and cheered only by wordy honors, and promises of compensation never to be fulfilled. All this finally

broke down his spirits. He became sore under the sense of his wrongs and the sickness of 'hope deferred.' His last days were virtually those of an insane man, breaking out into occasional wild freaks, which his friends could only lament and mitigate, but not prevent." He died in Mendon, September 27, 1812, aged 73 years, and his grave in the old Cemetery in that town is marked with a stone and the S. A. R. marker.

CAPTAIN SETH MORSE of Westborough was the son of Seth Morse. From August 19, to December 13, 1755, as a resident of Hopkinton he was a private in Captain Benjamin Wood's Company on an expedition against Crown Point. Later his name appeared in the list of men in Captain John Jones's (Hopkinton West) Company, on the alarm list. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a Company of Militia in General Artemas Ward's Regiment. His name appears in a "list of officers of the Massachusetts Militia which reinforced the army who joined Col. J. Ward." He was commissioned January 29, 1776. His commission as Captain in the 6th (Marlboro) Company in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment of Militia was ordered in Council in 1776.

CAPTAIN ELIAKIM SMITH of Hadley was born about 1735 or 6. He served from September 15th to December 10, 1755 in Captain Nathaniel Dwight's Company, Colonel Seth Pomeroy's Regiment. November 21st of that year he was reported as sick in camp at Lake George. From September 13th to November 30, 1756, he was in Capt.-Lieutenant John Burk's Company on a Crown Point Expedition. From April 10th to May 30, 1758 he served as Corporal in Captain Elisha Pomeroy's Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. In the following year from April 25th to October 30th, he was a private in Captain Elijah Smith's Company, Colonel Israel Williams's Regiment. His age was given as 23 years, and his residence as Hadley. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a company from Hadley. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served under that officer and his successor Colonel Jonathan Ward, until his death which occurred at Watertown, August 27, 1775, age 40

(*To be continued.*)

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

Ridiculing as absurd the statement of Secretary Bryan that: "If this country needed a million men, and needed them in a day, the call would go out at sunrise and the sun would go down on a million men in arms;" and also the statement of Andrew Carnegie that: "Our nation is unique in an important respect. Most Americans.....own guns.....and when they shoot can hit the thing at which they shoot,"—the editor of the *The New Republic* goes on to declare that this idea that Americans have a natural genius for shooting and can lick any thing on earth is due to the fact that our political thought and mass-thinking has been influenced by sheer mythology; a flattering tradition has usurped the place of fact:

"We have all been taught in our school histories that the minute-men of Lexington and Concord performed prodigies of valor. We have been taught to revere their statues and to recall them as we ascended the Bunker Hill Monument. We have come to love the thought of the embattled farmer rising up over night to throw off the hated yoke of British tyranny. We played our boyish war games in that belief, just as we still built upon it our lackadaisical militia. Emotionally we are convinced that all an American citizen need do is to take down his gun and shoot the presumptuous invader of our shores.

"Let us examine the historical truth that underlies this myth. What, as a matter of fact, were the minute-men of the Revolution? They were citizens-at-large whom the Provincial congresses and the Committees of Safety of 1774 instructed to keep their powder-horns filled and hold them-

selves in readiness to shoot Britishers. They had had no military drill, and no practice except in shooting Indians and small game. They went down to defeat after defeat, they were chronically under-supplied with ammunition, they were hardly more than an armed rabble, until men like Lafayette and DeKalb took them in hand and until untold and unnecessary hardships turned them into seasoned troops. They came well within the modern definition of snipers and *franctireurs*. A modern army of invasion would give short shrift to such road-side amateurs. All that has been forgotten.

"Will the myth of the minute-men ever be shaken? It probably did not become firmly intrenched in the American imagination until the war of 1812. At that time many veterans of the Revolutionary War were still alive who must have had the personal confidence that they could take on any dozen Britishers single-handed. How disastrous the myth was then has never been appreciated by us. It has conquered most of our historians. It is almost impossible to pick up any school history and get a realistic sense of the defeats we sustained, of the ignominious burning of Washington, of our utter demoralization. We think only of a series of brilliant naval victories, and of Jackson's comfortable victory at New Orleans over half-hearted British troops, just as we assume that it was we who won the battle of Bunker Hill. And who now remember the bloody rabble of Bull Run or the more recent shame of Tampa? That is the nether side of the myth It has become an arch concealer of facts, has inured us to what is really a monstrous callousness."

The New Republic has made such a good case against over-confidence and unpreparedness that we would not criticise one lone point of mis-statement—which may at worst be only a species of hyperbole; a slightly exaggerated figure of speech. But this subject is so close to the especial interests of the *Massachusetts Magazine*, that we would like to call attention to the abundant testimony that exists to show that the militia of Washington's army and especially the minutemen of Bunker Hill were not wholly without training in the art and science of war.

From the very earliest time the "training bands" were an important part of the life of every large town. Almost every town history speaks of them and their work of repelling Indian attacks.

In the decades immediately preceding the Revolutionary conflict, hundreds of Massachusetts men saw service in the French and Indian wars. Dr. Frank A. Gardner has called especial attention to the French and Indian wars as a trinaing school for the patriots. On page 46, Vol. III of the *Massachusetts Magazine* he said:

"Careful study of the regimental histories which have been presented in these pages during the past two years will make clear some very interesting lessons. Some of these like the state of preparedness of the Patriots on the Lexington alarm, have already been emphasized in special articles. The value of the French war as a training school for the Patriots must have been apparent to very many readers of the biographical sketches of the regimental officers in Colonel Bridge's Regiment, whose story is told in this number. At least twenty-two out of a total number of forty-five officers saw service in the campaigns against the French and Indians. It is impossible for us to overestimate the value of this training to our American soldiery. Warfare of any kind would have given them valuable experience, but they were not taught how to fight on general principles alone but were given specific instruction in British methods by many of England's ablest officers. English tenacity to accepted methods of warfare is proverbial and accordingly the American officers were repeatedly called upon to oppose the identical methods and movements which they had been taught thoroughly but a few years previously.

"When we consider that the Americans in addition to possessing this knowledge of British military methods were superior marksmen, as many of them had been hunters through life, we can readily understand why the Patriots were successful in so many engagements. The importance of the breastwork has already been dwelt upon in these columns and it is probably quite true that the Patriots went into battle in close order by columns much less frequently than their opponents. The present method of advancing in open order has been found far superior to the old formation. In the regiments to be taken up during the coming year it will be seen that the percentage of French war veterans among the officers will be even larger than in the case of those above cited."

When one-half of the officers of a regiment were men who had seen active service under British army officers, it is preposterous to think of their or-

ganization as "hardly more than an armed rabble." The other regiments also show a good representation of veterans.

And, while admitting the ignominy of our unpreparedness in the war of 1812, let us remember that it was the raw troops of the militia, and not the established army of that day, who won the laurels in the war of 1812. The most disgraceful defeats were borne by the regular troops; and, not only Jackson's "comfortable victory" at New Orleans, but all the achievements on the American side, in that war, were made by raw militiamen—such as the editor of the *New Republic* classifies as "roadside amateurs."

A bronze statue of Wendell Phillips, by Daniel Chester French, was unveiled in the Boston Public Garden, July 6th. The ceremony of unveiling and dedication was accompanied by exercises arranged by the Wendell Phillips Memorial Association, the speakers being William Dexter Brigham, Acting-mayor George W. Coleman, Frank B. Sanborn, William Monroe Trotter and Michael J. Jordan. Three descendants of William Lloyd Garrison were present—Francis J. Garrison his only surviving son, William Lloyd Garrison, his great grandson, and John T. Phillips, Jr., the abolitionists great-great nephew, who "lifted" the veil.

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GOVERNOR DAVID I. WALSH

By George F. Babbitt

The office of Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, using the full title given it by our constitution, possesses a distinction of its own, in the estimation of our people. Other commonwealths and states hold their chief executive magistrates in high esteem, as their merits warrant, but the honor attaching to the position in this state seems to possess something of a transcendent lustre. This local pride is to be accounted for, not by any real or assumed preeminence of Massachusetts over the other forty-seven states of the union, but for more obvious reasons—chiefly sentimental. These have their origin and inspiration in the fine traditions of the office and in the famous men who, in their turn, have discharged its functions since the establishment of the Commonwealth under the constitution, nearly a century and a half ago. The roll contains many illustrious names, famous in history, beginning with John Hancock, James Bowdoin and Samuel Adams, and continuing with those of other worthy persons, including Christopher Gore, Elbridge Gerry, Edward Everett and John A. Andrew, not to mention later occupants of the office. The good fame of these former Governors is not confined to Massachusetts or to New England. It is as wide as the nation itself, and in some instances may be said to be world wide.

It is sometimes said that our later governors are not the preeminently distinguished men such as formerly graced the office. This criticism may

be true, or may be popularly believed to be true, in a certain sense. People are ever prone to be laudators of times past at the expense of times present, as well as of old-time functionaries, when compared with their own contemporaries. They refuse to look at the new moon out of reverence for that ancient institution, the old one. Making due allowance for this habit of magnifying things at a distance, it can still be truly said that in the long list of our Massachusetts Governors there are very few whose possessors have not contributed to the welfare and renown of the state, and who have not helped to maintain the high traditions attaching to the office. There may have been occasional lapses from this high standard, due chiefly to fitful and capricious conditions in the body politic, but these aberrations have been only sporadic and transitory and have been spontaneously corrected at the earliest opportunity. Our people, as a whole, prefer that only honorable and high-grade men shall occupy the gubernatorial office.

To David Ignatius Walsh, our present Governor, son of James and Bridget Walsh, belongs the unique distinction of being the first and only Irish-American and Roman Catholic occupant of that high office in Massachusetts. Time was in the history of the state when such a selection would have been reckoned practically impossible notwithstanding the article in our constitution which provides that no citizen of this commonwealth shall be discriminated against on account of the religion he professes, so long as he worships God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The letter and spirit of this constitutional provision have not always been observed by our people in choosing their high official representatives. It was but little more than half a century ago that a governor of Massachusetts was elected on a Know-Nothing platform to the essential planks of which he earnestly and vociferously subscribed. It is creditable to the good sense and good will of the people of the state that they very soon came to regret this action and they corrected their mistake in the next ensuing election.

Times and conditions have changed in Massachusetts and elsewhere since Governor Gardners' day. Not only is there greater and wider toleration as to religious creeds and less observance of racial distinctions among people of the protestant faith, but our Roman Catholic population has grown

tremendously meanwhile, particularly here in Massachusetts. The change of popular sentiment in the aggregate is due chiefly to the growth of religious tolerance, and it is largely by reason of this growth that Governor Walsh has been twice elected to the office he now holds and is a likely candidate for a third term. It may be safely affirmed that Governor Walsh does not owe his nomination or his election to the fact that he is a Roman Catholic. It would be more accurate to say that he was nominated for the office and twice elected to it despite this assumed objection to his candidature. It may reasonably be said, furthermore, that during his two years incumbency of the office he has discharged its difficult, delicate and responsible duties in a manner to disarm and wholly remove any fears or uneasiness that may for a time have been entertained by those who formerly objected to his candidature on account of his religious creed.

It is the testimony of those who are in any way competent to speak on the subject that the fact that Governor Walsh is a Roman Catholic has had a no more controlling or directing influence under his administration than the circumstance that his predecessors have been Protestants controlled or directed their official course. There is no lack of concrete evidence to establish the correctness of this statement. It has not been left to be inferred. It has been specifically and authoritatively demonstrated in the executive office. On one notable occasion when the selection of a suitable man for appointment to an important place, at Governor Walsh's disposal, was under consideration, a friend of one of the candidates for the place called upon the Governor and urged the selection of this candidate for several reasons, among which was the particularly mentioned fact that this candidate belonged to "our church." Thereupon, the Governor brought his fist down upon his desk and emphatically rebuked this super-servicable friend who was informed that such a recommendation was entirely out of place and would receive no consideration in this case or in any other of like character. That the Governor meant what he said in this instance was demonstrated by the fact that the candidate thus urged did not receive the appointment.

This has been the rule adhered to by Governor Walsh, not only in the making of his appointments, but in the discharge of all the varied functions of his office. Considerations of creed or race do not influence his action. In his last inaugural address he devoted a special paragraph to the propriety and importance of making adequate and proper arrangements for the approaching Pilgrim celebration, and his recommendations on this subject have been followed. It cannot be affirmed that his appointments or his policies as set forth in his recommendations to the Legislature and to other bodies have been wholly free from politically partisan bias. Under present political conditions here in Massachusetts and elsewhere a strictly non-partisan course of conduct can hardly be demanded or expected of a Governor elected by a political party on a party platform. Having been elected as a Democrat, Governor Walsh has apparently felt it his duty, as well as his privilege, to appoint representative Democrats to office and to give preference to them, other considerations being equal. He has generally followed the same course in other matters where political questions have been involved. It cannot truthfully be said, however, that he has wilfully or deliberately placed partisan considerations before those of the public welfare. Governor Walsh may have made mistakes in some of his appointments as well as in some of his policies. Like all public officials of whatever political persuasion or stripe he is human and his shortcomings have probably not been any more frequent or flagrant than those of his predecessors. People not of Governor Walsh's political faith may fairly and properly object to him. Such opposition is legitimate. It is one thing to object to a public official on account of his politics. It is quite another thing to object to him on account of his religious creed, his race or other similar cause.

Governor Walsh came to his present office by the route or stepping-stones which have come to be reckoned as familiar in Massachusetts politics. Having served acceptably as Lieutenant-Governor he succeeded to the higher office by what may be termed the right of political inheritance, as many former Governors of Massachusetts had done before him. It is not recorded that he was a particularly pushful or insistent candidate for promo-

tion. He appears to have been the spontaneous and practically unanimous choice of his party in each and all of the campaigns in which he has been a candidate. Previous to his election to the Lieutenant-Governorship he had served the state in the lower branch of the Legislature where he won the favor of his associates not so much by any exceptional efficiency as a legislator as by his practical common sense and his generally agreeable manners and even temperament. Among his associates generally he was credited with having a level head on his shoulders. Possessing in addition a fine presence, a genial nature and a marked talent for good fellowship as well as a deserved reputation for thorough honesty and clean methods he has enjoyed the respect and friendship of his associates without distinction of party. Previous to his service in the Legislature he had been a successful lawyer in his home town of Clinton and in Fitchburg, having been admitted to the bar in 1897, after being graduated at Holy Cross College and at the Boston University law school. He served as city solicitor of Fitchburg while he was in his twenties, showing thus early in his career a marked aptitude for his profession and for dealing with public affairs that is not uncommon among young men of his blood.

It is a notable fact that Governor Walsh ranks among the youngest in years of the Governors of Massachusetts, having been inaugurated for his first term when he was 40. With the exceptions of George S. Boutwell, who became Governor when he was but 32, and William E. Russell who first assumed the office at 33, the present Governor is the youngest of them all. Governor Banks and Governor Long were first inaugurated at 41. All our other governors have been further along in their forties or fifties.

In summing up the comparative merits of the Walsh administration, it will be pertinent and informing for the inquiring citizen to compare its political appointments and its general political policies with those of administrations of the opposing party. Have the Walsh appointments and general policies been any more partisan than those of the other side, or has there been manifested any greater disposition to cater to religious or racial prejudices? The record is an open book and the question may be easily answered in the light of its data. Generally speaking, Governor Walsh is to

be credited with having suggested and brought about many salutary reforms in the public interest. He has shown a deep and intelligent interest in legislation looking to Tax reform. He has brought about a reorganization of the state department of health and has secured the services of a distinguished health expert to put the new law into practical operation. The state board of insanity has been reorganized, putting 16,000 unfortunate charges of the state under the supervision of three men whose entire time must be devoted to their welfare. The workingman's compensation act has been amended at his suggestion so as to provide for a substantial increase in the amount of money paid to workingmen and women without any increase in the rates charged to the employer. He has successfully favored labor legislation in accordance with the prevailing sentiment of the times. He has procured the enactment of a law providing for rural credits to help the farmers and without being parsimonious he has been able to keep the State Tax down to $8,750,000, an amount over $2,000,000, less than was anticipated at the beginning of the last legislative session.

The cause of popular education has found in Governor Walsh an earnest friend and promoter. He has urged that the state provide some means of giving a free education to the industrious boys and girls who leave school early in life to go to work in the factories and workshops. To this end the Governor has urged the establishment of free state correspondence schools where correspondence courses of study can be given to those who desire them. As showing the need and demand for such courses it has been found that a single one of these correspondence schools outside the state, which charges a fee for the courses, has had 90,000 Massachusetts people on its rolls during the last twenty-five years. One of the most important achievements in which the Governor has taken a leading part has been the settlement of the railroad situation, so far as Massachusetts is concerned, particularly with reference to the New Haven system and the Boston and Maine. He has cordially co-operated with the Federal authorities in their efforts to correct bad conditions in this respect and the results of his and their labors should be salutary and beneficial alike to the railroads and to the public they serve. These are but a few of the Governor's achievements and under-

takings in the line of promoting the welfare of the state and of its people. They serve to illustrate his practical good sense, his intelligent comprehension of public problems and his aptitude for solving them. All practical schemes for the promotion of social welfare have had his encouragement.

However widely people may differ in opinion as to the manner in which Governor Walsh has discharged the sterner duties of his office there is a very general agreement among those who have come in contact with him in one way or another that he is an exceptionally agreeable Governor personally, and that in the performance of his perfunctory and ornamental duties he compares quite favorably with the most graceful, dignified and socially accomplished of his predecessors, maintaining all the fine traditions of his office in this respect. He is courtly and gracious on all occasions, always approachable, a respectful listener to all comers and firmly insistent on the observance of the proprieties where he is officially present. He is an eloquent and pleasing speaker, both on formal and informal occasions, on the platform or at the banquet board and this accomplishment, added to his handsome and impressive presence, is a source of proper pride to that vast constituency which likes to see a Governor who fills the eye and the ear as well as the other senses. At the recent convention of Governors held in Boston where the chief executives of a large number of the states assembled to confer with each other on affairs relating to their duties and functtions, Governor Walsh, acting as the chief host of the occasion, performed his part with rare tact, grace and felicity, calling forth expressions of admiration and gratitude from the assembled governors, some of whom came here curious to see what manner of man our Roman Catholic Governor might be. They went away quite reconciled to the innovation.

Another of Governor Walsh's pleasing characteristics is that he is always ready to listen to counsel and advice regarding the affairs of his office and the best way of dealing with them. He is amenable to reason and appropriate suggestion, but he refuses to be bossed. He has no kitchen cabinet and he is his own final referee. Some of his political opponents have called him an amiable gentleman, intimating that his qualifications for his position are limited to the one implied by this title. This circumscribed

compliment may reasonably be interpreted as leaving no question as to the Governor's possession of at least some of the pleasing qualifications of a chief executive, even in the estimation of his more critical adversaries. On this score the verdict may be said to be cordially unanimous in his favor.

It remains to be said that Governor Walsh is a batchelor, a quite exceptional circumstance in his high office. His condition in this respect is not irreparable however. He is not an old bachelor, and has ample time to repent. Having but just entered middle life, possessing an attractive presence and having the promise of a continued successful and brilliant future before him he may still be said to be on the eminently eligible list, matrimonially and otherwise.

TWO POPULAR GOVERNORS

IMPRESSIONS OF JOHN DAVIS LONG AND CURTIS GUILD

The passing of John Davis Long, taken together with that of Curtis Guild but a short time before, removed two ex-Governors of Massachusetts who enjoyed a remarkable degree of personal popularity among their fellow citizens. It is undoubtedly speaking within bounds to say that none of our other Ex-Governors, in recent years at least, surpassed these two in this respect. They enjoyed the warm affection, as well as the high esteem of all classes and conditions, irrespective of party affiliations. Without undertaking to institute a comparison of their respective merits on this score, it may be said that Governor Long's strong hold upon the affectionate regard of the people was based rather more distinctly on his personality than was the case with Governor Guild. Both were exceptionally strong and pleasing in this particular, but somehow the heart and the hand of the average citizen went out rather more freely and spontaneously to the former than to the latter. Governor Long's geniality seemed to have been born within him and to have increased with his years. There was not the faintest trace of pretense or artificiality in his manner of carrying himself anywhere. He fairly bubbled over with a good nature that was as genuine as it was free and unrestrained.

Having in mind the wide range of his personal friendships and the large number of people who cherished a fondness for him, it has been said that the sorrow occasioned by Governor Long's death was deeper and more widespread than could have been caused by the taking off of almost any other eminent citizen of Massachusetts. There may have been quite as able, perhaps abler, governors of the Commonwealth than he, but none had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people. He prided himself more on his sound commonsense and his average qualities than upon any exceptional ability

or attainments, notwithstanding the well-recognized fact that he was not lacking in scholarly and statesmanlike equipment. He was never a poser. He wore his heart upon his sleeve throughout all his public career and he let his characteristics, as well as his acts, speak for themselves.

What a fine career he had from his early manhood until his death at the ripe old age of 76! He can hardly be said to have shown any unusual degree of precocity in his earlier years. He came from the little town of Buckfield, down in Maine, where he was born of good Yankee stock. There was nothing of the patrician in his antecedents, so far as blood or breeding were concerned. When he entered Harvard college, at the age of 15, he was a plain country boy with little but his native talents to rely upon for whatever success he might be destined to achieve. After his graduation from college and his admission to the bar he practised law, first in his native town and subsequently in Boston. It was not until more than a dozen years later. when he was 37 years old, that his public career began with his membership in the lower branch of the Massachusetts Legislature. From that time onward his public career was steadily and rapidly upward. He had served but a sinlge term in the Legislature when he was chosen Speaker of the House, serving three successive terms in this capacity. The following year he was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and the next year he was inaugurated Governor, serving three successive terms.

He subsequently served three terms in Congress, and was a member of the cabinets of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. All these honors came to him within a period of less than a score of years. Meanwhile he was called to numerous places of honor and responsibility of a non-political character. These were in religious, educational, and social lines, in all of which he achieved something of the same success and distinction that marked his political career. In all these varied activities he evinced the tactful, graceful, sympathetic and winning qualities that seemed to be an essential part of his nature. The only wonder of it all is that even higher honors and distinctions did not come to him.

In order to appreciate the traits and characteristics that marked Governor Long's brilliant career let us note some of the incidents of it and the

anecdotes told of him by those who were closely associated with him, or who watched him from a distance. Next to his abounding good nature and geniality his most marked and pleasing accomplishment was his talent or aptitude as a public speaker. He was not a great orator. His power and influence, in this respect, were due rather to the facility, grace, tact, and wit or good humor which marked all his utterances on the platform, in the forum or at the dinner table. He captured his audiences by these qualities rather than by those of Demosthenes, a Cicero, a Burke, a Webster or a Wendell Phillips. His appeal was to the hearts of his hearers and to their sense of humor and the decent fitness of things rather than to their profounder understanding. This was especially true of his political campaign speaking. It has been recalled how on one occasion during an exciting presidential campaign he met the editorial attack of a Democratic newspaper on the presidential candidate of the Republicans:

"Now, my fellow citizens," said Governor Long, holding the editorial extract aloft, "do you know who wrote that denunciatory article? Did you ever visit an editorial office and get a chance to see the editor? In order to see an editor you must climb several flights of dirty, dingy stairs, smeared with filth and tobacco juice. After reaching one of the top floors you inquire for the editor and are permitted to enter a seven-by-nine room which for some inscrutable reason, is called a sanctum-sanctorum. Here you see a fellow seated on a three-legged stool, with his feet on the table, an old hat perched on the back of his head, and probably a corn-cob pipe in his mouth. You tell him your business and he proceeds to get rid of you as soon as possible. Perhaps you are fortunate enough to get some satisfaction from your interview, and perhaps not—usually not. Now, my fellow citizens, that is the kind of man that writes such newspaper editorials as this one which I have read to you, and his appearance and environment are such as I have described. If you should chance to meet that sort of a man, with such an appearance, on the street, or anywhere else than in the editorial office of a newspaper, you would give no heed to his opinions on public men or public affairs, and they would never disturb you."

This was all Governor Long had to say concerning the Democratic editorial he was holding up to scorn, but he had said enough. The editor had been shown up and his editorial demolished by the speaker's keen ridicule; of course, it is to be understood that this attack on the personality of a newspaper editor was not meant to be taken seriously. It was Governor Long's way of putting his audiences in good humor and of spiking the guns of the opposition editors. The editors, thus denounced, never thought of denouncing the Governor in turn. They all knew him and they usually appreciated the fact that the speaker was having a little fun at their expense for political campaign purposes. They also appreciated that probably within the next few days the cheery Governor would drop into their sanctums to have a laugh with them on the way he had shown them up for the edification of a Faneuil Hall audience, eager to see the wicked Democratic editors flayed. Few men in public life were more cordially welcomed in the editorial offices than was Governor Long. His visits were frequent, and of mutual benefit and enlightenment. Among all the asperities that mark the newspaper discussions of public questions during exciting political campaigns it would be difficult to find anything approaching a bitter personal attack on Governor Long. He enjoyed the friendship and respect of editors and reporters alike and they treated him accordingly. His sarcasm at the expense of the editors contrasted in a marked manner with the politeness and distinguished consideration he uniformly showed the newspaper reporters. He jollied them, occasionally, and they were fond of calling him "Johnny" among themselves. They liked him and always gave him the full benefit of their facilities for promoting favorable publicity.

The story is told that once upon a time the Governor wrote a highly complimentary letter to a stenographer who had made a very full and handsome reproduction of one of the Governor's speeches. In this letter the recipient was characterized as the most accomplished stenographer the Governor had ever known. This letter was warmly cherished by the stenographer until he chanced to discover by accident that the Governor had written numerous other letters to other stenographers, paying them the same handsome compliment in almost the same words. However, the short-

hand fraternity never thought any the less of the genial Governor. In some public men it would have looked like duplicity. In the case of Governor Long it was reckoned only another illustration of his habit of saying nice things to those who came in contact with him in one way or another.

That Governor Long might have become President of the United States but for a peculiar combination of circumstances which the fates decreed, is an interesting circumstance in the story of his career. It was on account of President McKinley's firm insistance that Long was selected for the McKinley cabinet and made Secretary of the Navy. This preference of President McKinley's was based largely on personal considerations, the two men having previously been on terms of intimate acquaintance in Washington. Each had a fondness for the other and each admired the other's genial qualities, as well as their respective views and treatment of public questions. President McKinley's nearest friend, Mark Hanna, used to say in his facetious way that Governor Long was the only man in public life in Washington of whom he had good reason to be jealous. "I seldom sit down for a chat with the President that he doesn't have something to say about that fellow Johnny Long. He sometimes appears to be bewitched of him." That this fondness was something more than a passing fancy was further demonstrated later on when the question arose as to who should be nominated for Vice President on the ticket with McKinley for the latter's second term. The President made no concealment of his personal preference for his Secretary of the Navy, and his preference would probably have been respected but for the awkward situation then existing in New York, which made it seem necessary or prudent to nominate Governor Theodore Roosevelt in order to pacify Mr. Platt, who wanted to get rid of Roosevelt whom he rated a disturbing factor in New York politics. But for this complication Governor Long would probably have received the vice-presidential nomination, with such ultimate results as fell to the lot of Roosevelt when President McKinley was assassinated at the very beginning of his second term.

Of all the offices held by Governor Long during his public life that of Governor of Massachusetts was the one which was most to his liking. He

filled it with exceptional ability, dignity and grace and won for himself fresh laurels as a fine administrator and chief executive magistrate. His policies, his appointments and his performance of the ornamental duties of the office were equally creditable to him and to the state. He found his subsequent three terms of service in Congress agreeable, but irksome,— its chief duties being facetiously likened by him to those of an errand boy. From a national point of view the position of Secretary of the Navy was his most important office, but its duties and responsibilities never afforded him much real enjoyment or satisfaction. Its most agreeable feature was that it brought him in intimate association with President McKinley whom he was glad to serve. The thorn in Secretary Long's flesh was Assistant Secretary Roosevelt whose insubordination was equalled or surpassed only by his impudence, in the Secretary's estimation. The embarrassment occasioned by his relations with his assistant, however, did not interfere with the Secretary's work in promoting the welfare and efficiency of the naval service. Many useful and salutary reforms in the service were brought about through his influence. One of the reforms he earnestly sought to effect was the improvement of the naval chaplain's corps which was then in a bad way, sad to say. While there were some excellent chaplains in the navy the average of them was such to make it, in proportion to its numbers, the most disreputable corps in the navy for a time, according to competent official opinion. Secretary Long dismissed one chaplain for drunkness and obscenity. One other was twice arrested and convicted in a Boston police court for immorality. Two or three more were dismissed for even more serious offences. There were others guilty of no specific crime, but they were found to be wholly inefficient and worthless. Some of the applicants for these chaplaincies which were chiefly political appointments, were of equally bad character. One of them brought a letter to the Secretary purporting to be signed by Phillips Brooks. It was torn and discolored and it was dated two or three days before the latter's death. The Secretary was familiar with the famous bishop's signature and he questioned the genuineness of that on this letter. Communication with the bishop's brother established the fact that the letter was a forgery. But for Secre-

tary Long's persistent activity in uncovering this fraud there is testimony to show that this applicant would probably have been appointed to a naval chaplaincy, so strong were the political influences exerted in his favor. In this direction, as in others, Secretary Long corrected many glaring abuses in the department during his four years' service at its head.

The naval portfolio was the last of the public offices held by Governor Long. The remaining years of his life were devoted to his private affairs and to such activities as engage the attention of a patriotic and useful citizen interested in the welfare and progress of his country and the betterment of moral, educational and social conditions among its people. All these interests received his earnest and sympathetic attention. He indulged his literary aptitude and tastes by frequent contributions to literature, historical, biographical, political and poetical, and he was an influential and valued member of scientific, historical, literary and social organizations. During his long service as an overseer of Harvard University he was invariably chosen to preside over that learned body. Although he was not a prohibitionist in the political sense he was a firm and consistent supporter of temperance, and for a long time he presided over The Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society.

His was a useful and happy life throughout, and his fine temperament enabled him to get genuine enjoyment out of it in full measure. Replying to a letter of congratulation on the attainment of his 75th birthday, when it was proposed that some public notice be taken of the anniversary, he wrote this letter in his free and happy way:

"It is certainly not modesty that prompts my reluctance to have any notice taken of my 75th birthday, for I don't know any better fellow at 75 than I am. The best reason I can give for my unwillingness to join in such a celebration is that I do not want it. I couldn't stand a public occasion, at so many of which I have been an attendant, and where I should feel like a fool when the words, however kind, that are always spoken at such anniversaries, fell on my ears. I have no wish to conceal my age. On the contrary, I rather like it, and I think I can say that it is the happiest time of a very happy life. If it were not for the calendar and the geneal-

ogical record I would not be conscious of being a day older than long ago when you and I were first acquaint."

Very much resembling Governor Long in many respects, particularly as to the element of personal popularity, Governor Guild was different in others. Both of them were highly successful governors. Both were tactful, graceful and scholarly men, gifted with the traits and characteristics that go to make wide popularity, but each seemed to have acquired these accomplishments by different methods. From his early boyhood Governor Guild seemed to be swayed or actuated by an ambition to achieve the many distinctions that came to him. As a schoolboy he was particularly strong on declamation. He could "speak a piece" almost as eloquently when he was in his 'teens as later on when he swayed audiences by speeches of his own composition. He took the first prize for oratory at Harvard College and his classmates used to point to him as one of their number who was surely destined to achieve distinction in public life. The same may be said of his taste and aptitude for military affairs. He was an officer in his school regiment and had won the title of Major long before he had received his first school diploma. Possessing a fine presence, a soldierly bearing and a talent for strict discipline it was as easy to forsee that he was destined to became a more or less distinguished general as it was to anticipate his fine career in civil life. It will thus be noted that while Governor Long did not begin to show either the promise or the inclination toward a distinguished public career until he was well along in his early manhood, Governor Guild had hitched his wagon to the stars while he was yet a beardless youth. It has been given to few men so fully to achieve the definite ambitions of their boyhood dreams as was the case with Curtis Guild. The schoolboy orator came step by step to be an exceptionally eloquent public speaker and chiefly by the exercise of this accomplishment he became remarkably successful in public life, achieving one promotion after another until he reached the highest political office in the gift of the people of his state not to mention the subsequent honors won by him as a diplomat. In like manner this young major of a school battalion subsequently became a captain and a colonel in the state militia and subsequently a general in the

Spanish war. No skilful mariner, with chart and compass, ever set sail for a given port and reached it more surely and safely than was the case with Curtis Guild in making his life's voyage. That he did not achieve even higher honors and greater distinction is probably due to the fact that, unlike Governor Long who lived to be more than three score and ten, he was cut off in the very prime of his manhood when there was every reason to expect that there were other prizes in store for him. As illustrating his earlier promise it is said that when his name was proposed for membership in the famous Hasty Pudding Club at Harvard college there was some opposition to his election on account of some personal pique. "Oh, let Guild in!" was the shout. "He's going to be a big man some day and the Pudding can point with pride to his name on its membership roll." He was promptly elected and the prophecy was fulfilled. It is a notable circumstance, by the way, that Harvard college, which was Governor Guild's alma mater, and from which he was graduated with a *summa cum laude*, omitted to bestow any of its honorary degrees on him, notwithstanding all the precedents and the practise that favored such a bestowal. Governors and diplomats without number and of less distinguished and scholarly attainments than Governor and Ambassador Guild had been thus honored from time immemorial but it was left to other high institutions of learning in this country and abroad instead of to his own alma mater to pay him this homage. Williams college, Holy Cross college, and the University of Geneva in Switzerland conferred their highest degrees on him. This apparent slight of Harvard's was resented by many of Governor Guild's admirers and that it did not pass unnoticed by him is denoted by the fact that he remembered all three of the above named institutions by testamentary gifts while Harvard was not mentioned in his will.

Among Governor Guild's conspicuous attainments was his linguistic faculty. He was familiar with seven languages and he could converse fluently in five. He learned to speak the Russian language in a very short space of time after his appointment as ambassador to St. Petersburg, and he acquired proficiency in Spanish with equal facility when he was sent as a special embassador to Mexico. In this respect he was almost the peer

of Rufus Choate who was known in his day as the most accomplished polyglot in public life in this country. Professionally Governor Guild called himself a journalist . He had the natural and acquired ability, as well as the training and experience to fit him for that calling, but his political activities during the greater part of his career engaged his attention to such an extent as to prevent his achieving the eminence in his nominal profession which might easily have come to him had he devoted a larger share of his energies to editorial work. At the time of his death he was the active editor and proprietor of the *Commercial-Bulletin* as his father had been before him. He may be said to have been one of the few editors who never became enslaved by his calling which is the welcome fate of most successful journalists.

Although Governor Guild died before his time he lived long enough to achieve a wide and enduring fame, not only as one of our great Governors, but as an eminent and useful citizen. A handsome fund for a monument to his memory has already been subscribed by his appreciative fellow-citizens who have thus manifested a desire not only to pay a substantial tribute to the memory of a distinguished citizen of the Commonwealth, but also to furnish a visible reminder of a career in every way worthy of imitation and emulation by coming generations.

AN OLD BOSTON BOOKSELLER

GEORGE E. LITTLEFIELD AS I KNEW HIM

By Frank Jones Wilder

The death of Mr. George Emery Littlefield, the well known Cornhill bookseller, on Saturady, September 4th, marked the passing away of a character unique in the history of Boston, and of the book selling trade in America.

The writer's acquaintance with Mr. Littlefield began in 1908. At that time I was living in Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and dabbling some in old books.

A call came in one day for a certain Massachusetts town history, and not having it in stock, I advertised for it among the old book dealers, and was offered a copy by Mr. Littlefield for nine dollars. Two or three days later, another dealer, also a Massachusetts man, offered me two copies for three dollars each. Having no use at that time for more than a single copy, I wrote and offered the other to Mr. Littlefield for five dollars, at the same time, stating in vigorous terms, with the conceit born of ingorance, my opinion of his price.

I promptly received a check for the book with the statement, "I'll get ten dollars for that book."

Later on, when I decided to move my business to a larger field, I came to Boston, and met Mr. Littlefield for the first time.

I was particularly impressed with two things: first, his plain direct way of speaking; secondly, his marvellous knowledge of books of the class in which he specialized.

Before we parted that day, he referred to the transaction just narrated and said, "I got ten dollars for that book, just as I told you I would."

As I grew to know him better, and saw his wonderful knowledge of books, and his unfailing judgment as to prices and values, I realized that I had met

the best posted man in America, on books of a historical or genealogical nature.

In searching out the cause of his wonderful knowledge, I found that he had a natural aptitude and love for the old book business. I also found, that during the last half century almost, that he was in business, he had seen the number of town histories published in New England, double several times; and the number of genealogies increased from five hundred in 1868, to over ten thousand at the beginning of the present year, and had acted as agent for the selling of the greater part of them.

He thus acquired little by little, valuable information regarding size of editions, who had them, how many had been sold, and changes which came from year to year, both in the value of the books and in the supply.

I once asked him how it was that his price for Barry's History of Hanover, Mass., was five dollars, while some other dealers asked three times that price. The answer was, "the book's gone to seed. It brought repeatedly, and was worth from twelve dollars to twenty dollars, until a new history of the town came out in two volumes which was sold for less than five dollars, fully as complete and brought down to date, and of which there were enough printed to last for some years yet to come."

Close critics have sometimes said of him that he was not at all times as diplomatic as he might have been. To him, the waiting upon a customer who desired to procure an old novel for a quarter, or a last year's number of Harper's Bazaar, aroused little enthusiasm, and seldom called forth any extended preliminary conversation from the party of the First Part.

His long experience had eminently fitted him to advise both authors and readers as to wisdom in book buying, selling and writing. Seldom did a week pass that he was not consulted by people producing historical or genealogical books.

Never have I known him to refuse aid to people of this class. Often have I known him to have been imposed upon by tight fisted people who wanted something for nothing, and who expected the old book man to supply as a gift, information in this line, for which a very ordinary lawyer in his own line, would charge from ten to fifty dollars.

The following story was told me by Mr. Littlefield himself, only a few weeks before his death.

One day, some years ago, there came into his shop a man who took book after book from the shelves, and copied at length from them upon a pad which he took from his pocket. After some time, Mr Littlefield came forward from his desk in the rear of the store and said, "we don't allow that here." The man looked at him, and he looked at the man. Continuing the conversation, Mr Littlefield said, "that's what I call stealing. I get my living by selling books which contain information people want. You are taking it without leave or license. I cannot allow that."

The man put back the books, returned the pad to his pocket, and departed. Later it came out that the man was a professor at Yale. When Mr. Littlefield heard of this a day or two later, he remarked, "all the more reason why the man should have known better."

Mr. Littlefield told me another story which I here repeat. A man came to his store one day and asked for a certain book which Mr. L. priced to him at seventy-five cents. The man demurred at the price and said, "they sell that book for fifty cents on Bromfield Street," to which Mr. Littlefield replied, "the price is very reasonable." "But," said the man, "they haven't got any now." The answer he got was, "when I don't have any, I might sell them for ten cents."

The customer departed only to show up the following day, and again haggle over the price. Upon asking if there was any different price from the preceding day, he was told that the book was then worth one dollar. He again departed to return the following day, and ask the price which had now risen to a dollar and a quarter.

Twice more did he reappear only to find that the book was advancing twenty-five cents per day.

He finally took the book at a dollar and seventy-five cents, which he hurriedly paid to forestall any further advance.

Another story which it pleased Mr. Littlefield to relate, was regarding a certain trustee of a well known institution not a thousand miles from Boston, who came to him just prior to a celebrated auction sale, and handed him

a list of books desired by the Library he represented, which he instructed Mr. Littlefield to buy, giving no prices on any of the items nor authorizing discretionary bids.

The day after the sale, Mr. Littlefield's client met him on the street and said,"I suppose you bought those books for us," to which Mr. Littlefield replied, "I got some of them for you." In a tone of reproof, the trustee said somewhat testily, "I thought I told you to buy them all. Why didn't you do it?" The answer was, "because I'm not a blamed fool."

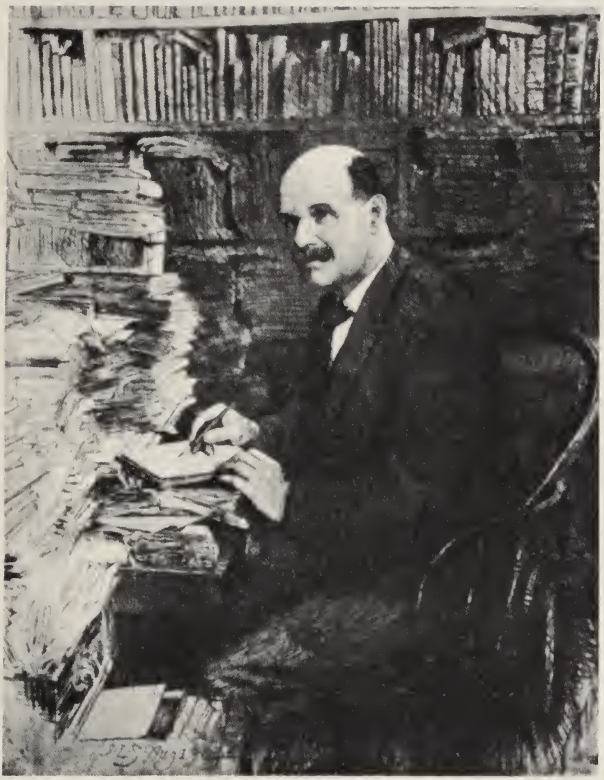
The writer is not quite sure that the descriptive adjective used by the Cornhill Sage was "blamed." I do know that the word had six letters in it, and ended with a "d?" Possibly it began with the same letter. Continuing the conversation, Mr. Littlefield said, "don't you get my catalogs?" to which the man replied, "I suppose so." "Well, don't you ever read them?" "I suppose our people look them over more or less." "Don't you know that one of the books you wanted me to pay six dollars for has been in my catalog the last two or three years at two dollars and fifty cents?" The man said, "no." Mr. Littlefield said, "it is a fact." He continued, "I am often glad to sell books for much less than some seemingly well posted people are willing to pay for them if they see them going to someone else at auction."

Catalog number one, was issued by Mr. Littlefield in February, 1878, and consisted of sixteen pages. The title page is here shown.

This catalog, like all of those compiled by Mr. Littlefield, is remarkable for its accurate, concise descriptions. It is said that quite a number of tight-fisted Yankees used his catalogs at Libbie's auctions, and made a rule of bidding from one half to two thirds of the price at which the books were therein valued.

Well was it said of him by one of our leading Librarians, that he had forgotten more in his line of business than all the rest of us ever knew. I hate to disagree with so good an authority, but I never knew Mr. Littlefield to forget anything. Nor did I ever see him stumped for want of a book he knew he had and couldn't find.

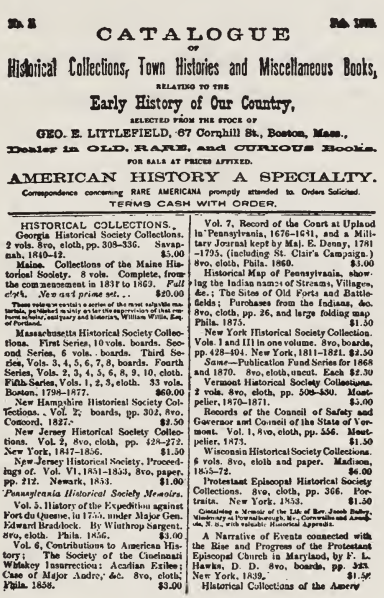
I really believe that on the darkest night of any Friday, the thirteenth,



George E. Littlefield

of the month, he could go to the store at midnight, and without aid of any light, find the particular book he wanted.

The confidence reposed in Mr. Littlefield's judgment, both by private collectors and large institutions, made him a busy man on auction days



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Historical Collections of the Amery

at Libbie's sales. There he was a most familiar figure. He usually sat on the front row, or close to it. Seldom did he make an oral bid; often during sales have I noticed a peculiar muscular contraction in and around the left eye, vulgarly termed a wink, but far more pronounced than any wink, taking in as it did, practically the whole side of the face. This silent bid of his was sometimes hard to locate if the room was well filled, but it was always visible to the man on the block. All that the rest of us saw was the back of a bald head, with a fringe of black hair at the base, slightly tinged with gray.

Many a time when I was wondering whether the auctioneer was simply flirting with me, or really had the bid he claimed, have I seen some choice literary nugget struck down to one 'Field, who sat on the front seat, almost under the auctioneer's nose.

As an author, Mr. Littlefield showed the same hard common sense which was a marked characteristic of him in his business. He never attempted to carry more sail than his ballast would warrant. In fact, he could have expanded his business very materially with perfect propriety, and yet have retained his characteristic modesty.

In his writings, he confined himself strictly to subjects upon which he was deeply and thoroughly informed.

His first book, "Early Boston Booksellers," was published in 1900, by the Club of Odd Volumes, of which he was a member, the members paying five dollars each per copy.

To such an extent had it increased in value within four years, that the Library of Congress paid fifty-two dollars at auction for the copy they now own.

This was followed three years later by his "Early Boston Schools," which also commands a large premium over the published price.

In 1907, he brought out in two volumes, "The Early Massachusetts Press."

His last literary production, was a catalog prepared by him in 1908 for the Massachusetts Exhibition of Colonial Books, at the Jamestown Exposition. It is said that the exhibition was secured entirely through his influence. It was written in a careful and concise manner, and was so appreciated, that it secured the highest award there given; a gold medal, the title of the catalog reading, "1607-1907. A Descriptive Catalog of the Massachusetts Exhibit of Colonial Books at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition. Privately printed in Boston, 1907."

Mr. Littlefield was a member of several genealogical and historical societies, and as such, was of material value to these institutions.

I remember one time of his telling me of the vast difference in the book business of today, and that of fifty years ago. When he began, such a thing as a flat was practically unknown. People lived in their own houses, with many rooms, and had large libraries, and bought books to place in them.

He once told me that it was no uncommon thing thirty years ago, for him to sell a hundred dollars a day of cheap fiction outside his door.

With the coming of the department store, later the cheap magazine, and more recently the movies, the trade of the old-time bookseller has radically changed.

He was a native of Boston, born in 1844, on Milton Street, West End, a graduate from the Latin School in '59, and from Harvard in '66. In '68, he associated himself with C. F. Sprague & Company on Brattle Street in what is now the rear store of Frost & Adams, 37 Cornhill, and began dealing in old books, in which he had shown a great deal of interest for several years. He later moved to 67 Cornhill where he remained until within about three weeks of the time of his death.

His store was small, with rather a dingy and unpossessing front. It extended through from Cornhill to Brattle Street, a distance of some thirty or forty feet, with a basement entrance on Brattle Street. Some twenty feet back from the front was a raised half decked floor. On the left hand corner of this, close up to the Brattle Street window, stood Mr. Littlefield's desk, and here he was wont to hold Communion with kindred spirits of the book hunting and book loving fraternity.

To the visitor, the store and its fittings were in perfect harmony, and carried one back many years. The sanctity of the place was never invaded by the electric light, nor profaned by the click of a typewriter, or the tinkle of a telephone bell; neither did he employ any of the twentieth century methods of card filing, to aid him to supply information on topics about which he might be consulted. He didn't have to; he had it all in his head.

Mr. Littlefield's death came suddenly. It is a striking illustration of the uncertainty of human life, that within thirty days of the time Mr. Little-

field buried his wife, his house had been sold, his books dispensed from the store, and he was dead and buried.

His remains lie in Mount Auburn, in Cambridge, but a little way from his old home on Chester street.

In his death, both the public library and the private collector, have lost a conscientious and valued friend, and the bookselling fraternity of the city, will long miss a man of whom we were all proud, and whose reputation will live for many years to come.

GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD'S AND COLONEL JONATHAN WARD'S REGIMENTS

General Artemas Ward's Regiment, Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775 —General Artemas Ward's 1st Rregiment, Provincial Army, May-June, 1775—Colonel Jonathan Ward's 32nd Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, July-December, 1775.

Continued from No. 3, Vol. VIII.

CAPTAIN SETH WASHBURN of Leicester, was born in Bridgewater in 1723, the son of Joseph Washburn. He was a blacksmith by trade and in 1756, an inn-keeper. The statement is made in the "History of Leicester" that he had been a soldier in one of the expeditions against the Indians in 1749, but the author has failed to confirm it by the records in the archives. He served as selectman in 1758 and was head of the body of selectmen in 1773. In the above mentioned "History of Leicester" it is also stated that he was Lieutenant in the Company of Captain Henshaw's Company of volunteers in 1773 and in April 1774, Lieutenant in Samuel Denny's 2nd Company of Foot of Leicester. He was Captain of a company in Colonel Ward's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, and April 24, 1775 was engaged as Captain in General Artemas Ward's First Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. February 13, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. February 6, 1778 he was commissioned Second Major in Colonel Samuel Denny's 1st Worcester County Regiment. In 1779 he was Muster Master of recruits. In a return dated June 12, 1781 he stated that he had sent forward 483 men from Worcester to serve in the Continental Army. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1779 and a member of the State Senate in 1780, 1783, 1784-87. He was Justice of the Peace in 1781. In the above mentioned "History of Leicester" it is stated that he had "a ready command of language; was a fluent and forcible speaker of fearless courage and great firmness." He has been described as having a light complexion; high forehead and blue eyes; about 5 feet 10 inches in height, thin, active and muscular. He died February 12, 1794, aged 71 years.

In the above history he is also characterized as "an honest man, a true patriot, a kind husband, an indulgent parent, an obliging neighbor and a friend of mankind."

CAPTAIN MOSES WHEELOCK of Worcester was born about 1738. He was a private in Captain William Arbuthnot's Company from March 21 to October 25, 1775. April 2, 1759, at the age of 21, residence Wrentham, he enlisted in Colonel Samuel Miller's Regiment, having a record of previous service in 1757 in Lake George. From April 2, 1759 to May 13, 1760 he was a Corporal in Captain Moses Curtis's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment at Nova Scotia. He was selectman of Marlboro in 1771 and town clerk in 1771 and 1772. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Brigham's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in General Artemas Ward's First Regiment in the Provincial Army, and he served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. January 12, 1776 his name was proposed by the Legislature as Second Major in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment, and he received his commission on the 23rd of March. June 24, 1776 he was commissioned Major in Colonel Jonathan Smith's Regiment, raised for service in Quebec and New York. In one record (year not given) he is credited with eight month's service at Dorchester and four months at New York. June 16. 1777 he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment. July 8th, 1780 he was Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel John Rand's 8th Regiment, Worcester County Militia and served until his discharge, October 11, 1780. He again served as Selectman of Westborough from 1778 to 1782 and from 1786 to 1795. The historian of Westborough states that "he was a man of fine force." He died in 1801.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL WOOD of Northborough was the son of Samuel and Mary Wood. He was born in Upton, May 16, 1739. September 24, 1755 he was a member of Captain John Fay's Company, Colonel Josiah Brown's Regiment. In a list dated March 23, 1757 his name appears as

alarm. May 2, 1758 he enlisted in Captain William Tyler, Junior's Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. He died in Upton May 26, 1830, aged 92 years. He was Captain of a Men's Minute Company in General Ward's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 25, 1775, he was commissioned Captain in General Ward's Regiment in the Provincial Army and he served under that officer and Colonel Jonathan Ward, through the year. He was reported as having been drafted September 16, 1777, but he "refused to march himself, to hire a man in his room, or pay a fine."

CAPTAIN ROSS WYMAN of Shrewsbury, was the son of Seth and Sarah (Ross) Wyman. He was born in Woburn, August 16, 1717, and later removed to Shrewsbury. He was Corporal March 28, 1757, in a troop of horse, commanded by Captain Benjamin Eager in the 3rd Regiment of Middlesex and Worcester Counties and in August 1757, marched as Corporal in Lieutenant Stephen Maynard's Company from Marlborough to Westfield on the Fort William Henry alarm. He was a blacksmith by trade, and made a gun for Artemas Ward before the Revolution. In Ward's "History of Shrewsbury" it is stated that "he was a stout athletic man, and previous to the Revolution, while in Boston, and in his market, came near being seized and carried off by the press gang from a British Man-of-War." He drove them off by beating them with fish which he had in the wagon. He was Captain of a Shrewsbury Artillery Company in General Artemas Ward's Regiment which marched on the Lexington alarm on April 19, 1775, and served thirty days.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EZRA BEAMAN of Shrewsbury was the son of Captain Jabez Beaman. April 7, 1757 Ezra's name appears in the list of members of the 2nd Militia Company of Shrewsbury, commanded by his father, Captain Jabez. In the billeting act dated 1758, food was provided for Ezra Beaman on his way home from Lake George. He served as Lieutenant in Captain Robert Andrews's Company which marched from Shrewsbury to Cambridge on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 28, 1775 he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Job Cushing's Com- a member of Captain Jonathan Wood's Company. In August 1757 as a

pany, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year in Captain Job Cushing's Company, under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. His commission for this service signed by Joseph Warren is preserved in the archives, Volume 146, Page 79. April 17, 1776 he was commissioned Captain of the 7th Company in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ELIJAH BELLOWS of Southborough was the son of Eleazer and Sarah Bellows. He was born in Southborough, October 29, 1728. In a training band list dated April 29, 1757 his name appears as a member of Colonel Timothy Brigham's (Southborough) Company. He enlisted December 4, 1775, as Lieutenant in Captain Silas Gates Company, and received his commission, January 29, 1776.

FIRST LIEUTENANT THOMAS BOND of Westborough was the son of Jonathan and Mary (Harrington) Bond of Waltham, and was born in that town January 30, 1739-40. He removed to Westborough, April 1, 1757. Was a private in a training band of Westborough in a company commanded by Captain Benjamin Fay. In August of that year he marched in this company under the command of Lieutenant Jonas Brigham (serving as Captain) in Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment, for the relief of Fort William Henry. In the returns it is stated that his father's name is Jonathan. He served as First Lieutenant in Captain Edmund Brigham's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775 he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Moses Wheelock's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned Lieutenant in Captain Seth Morse's Company, Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment. In August 1777 he marched in Captain Edmund Brigham's Company, Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment, to reinforce the Northern army on the Bennington alarm. He later moved to North Brookfield and finally to Brookfield.
member of Lieutenant James Whipple's Company, Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment, he marched from Upton to Westfield on the Fort William Henry

FIRST LIEUTENANT TIMOTHY BRIGHAM, of Worcester, may have been the man of that name, son of Jesse and Bethiah Brigham, who was born in Westborough in 1735-6, March 21, 1757, he was a member of the 2nd Westborough Company, commanded by Captain Bezeleal Eager. From April, 7th to May 23, 1758, he was in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Wood's Company of Minute Men in General Ward's Regiment. April 26, 1775, he enlisted under the same Captain in General Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army and served through the year under General Ward, and Colonel Jonathan Ward. April 17, 1776 he was commissioned Captain of the Second Northborough Company, in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment. July 2, 1777, his name appears in a list of officers in Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment, for service on the Bennington alarm, and he served until October 29, 1777. His name also appeared in a list of officers endorsed January 1, 1778. He died in Northborough October 5, 1828, aged 92 years, 7 months, 7 days.

FIRST LIEUTENANT AMASA GRANSON was First Lieutenant in Captain Cyprian How's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. No further record of him has been found.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSEPH LIVERMORE of Spencer was the son of Lieutenant Josiah and Thankful (Harrington) Livermore. He was born in Weston July 11, 1740 and settled in Spencer in 1752. March 19, 1759, at the age of 19, residence Weston, he enlisted in Colonel Elisha Jones's Regiment for service under General Amherst in Canada. From November 2d to June 7, 1759-60, he was a private in Captain Daniel Fletcher's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment, at Annapolis. From January 1st to June 7, 1760 he was a private in Captain Daniel Fletcher's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment. From January 24th to November 17, 1761, as a resident of Weston he was a private in Captain Silas Brown's Company, and from November 18, 1761, to June 17, 1762, he was a private in Captain John Nixin's Com-

pany. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched, as Ensign, in Captain Ebenezer Mason's Company, Colonel Jonathan Warner's Regiment. May 12, 1775, he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Seth Washburn's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. February 13, 1776 he was commissioned Second Leiutenant in Captain Seth Washburn's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. April 28, 1778, he was commissioned Captain of Colonel Samuel Denney's 1st Worcester County Regiment. From July 1, 1779 to October 4, 1779 he served as Captain in this regiment, with the guards at Rutland Barracks. On December 8, 1779, he wrote a letter resigning his commission on account of bodily infirmity occasioned by "previous service for his country," and the resignation was accepted December 27, 1779. He later removed to East Sudbury.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM MORSE, of Middleborough, was the son of Jonas and Lucy (Eager) Morse. He was born in Marlborough, February 26, 1738. He was a member of Captain J. Weeks's 2nd Company of Marlborough training band, August 7, 1757. He was First Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Barnes's Company which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775, he was engaged to serve as First Lieutenant under the same Captain in General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and served under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward through the year. July 5, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Ezekial How's 4th Middlesex County Regiment. August 20, 1777, he marched with nine men drafted from the above regiment to reinforce the Continental Army at the Northward. From October 2nd to November 8, 1777, he was Captain of a company of Marlborough Volunteers in Colonel Jonathan Reed's 6th Middlesex County Regiment, to assist General Gates at the Northward. March 26, 1780 he resigned his commission as Captain in Colonel Cyprian How's 4th Middlesex County Regiment, and it was accepted April 7, 1780. He died in Marlborough, June 26, 1802, aged 69 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT HANNANIAH PARKER of Westborough. He may have been the Hannaniah, son of John and Experience (Clayes) Parker, who was born in Shrewsbury, September 21, 1735 (called "Annanias" in Ward's "History of Shrewsbury"). He was a member of a Southborough Company, April 29, 1757, commanded by Colonel Timothy Brigham. April 19, 1775 he served on the Lexington alarm as Lieutenant in Captain Seth Morse's Company of Militia, General Artemas Ward's Regiment. August 9, 1781 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Wright's Company, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Luke Drury's detached Regiment at West Point, and remained in service until his discharge, November 18, 1781.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ABEL PERRY of Natick, was the son of Samuel and Ruth Perry. He was born in Natick, September 16, 1736. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as Leiutenant in Captain Joseph Morse's Company, Colonel Samuel Bullard's Regiment. May 25, 1775 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain James Mellen's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, having been engaged for service on the 25th of April. He served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. "Lieut. Abel Perry" died in Natick, April 13, 1808, aged 72 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ASA RICE of Shrewsbury was the son of Hezekiah and Mary (Taylor) Rice. He was born in Shrewsbury, March 12, 1742. April 3, 1759, at the age of 17 years he enlisted in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company, Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment, and served in Canada, under General Amherst, until November 30th of that year. He was First Lieutenant in Captain Job Cushing's Company of Minute Men and Militia in General Artemas Ward's Regiment on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. April 28, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Job Cushing's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year, under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. April 17, 1776 his commission was ordered as Captain of the 3rd Shrewsbury Company in Colonel John

Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment. From July 27th to August 29, 1777 he marched as Captain of a company on the Bennington alarm in Colonel Job Cushing's 6th Worcester County Regiment. September 12, 1777 he was commissioned Captain of the Second Company in the above named regiment, and his name appears on the list of officers of that regiment, endorsed January 1, 1778. He lived on the old homestead in Shrewsbury, and held many important positions. He died August 4, 1823 aged 81½ years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ASAPH SHERMAN of Grafton, was the son of Colonel Nathaniel and Mary (Livermore) Sherman, and was born in Grafton, March 6, 1741. He was a private in Captain William Paige's Company from March 25th to December 1, 1760. His commission was ordered in the Provincial Congress at Watertown, May 25, 1775, as First Lieutenant in Captain Luke Drury's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT NATHANIEL SHERMAN of Grafton was probably the Nathaniel, brother of Lieutenant Asaph Sherman. He was born in Grafton, March 4, 1732. He marched from Grafton to Westfield in August 1757, on the Fort William Henry alarm, as Sergeant in Lieutenant James Whipple's Company, Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment. From March 13th to November 8, 1758 he was an Ensign in Captain Stephen Maynard's Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. In response to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Luke Drury's Company, Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment, and his name also appeared in the same Captain's Company in General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, the list bearing date of May 24, 1775. April 17, 1776 his commissionw as ordered as Captain of the 10th (Groton) Company, in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN SMITH of Worcester may have been the man of that name who was born in Marlboro, and as a resident of that town served under Captain Timothy Houghton in Colonel Jonathan Bag-

ley's Regiment from March 23rd to October 9, 1756, on an expedition to Crown Point. In 1773 he was elected a member of the Committee of Correspondence in Worcester. On the 19th of April, 1775, he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Timothy Bigelow's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Jonas Hubbard's Company, Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment, and he served through the year under that Captain in the regiment commanded by General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM WATSON of Leicester and Spencer, was the son of John and Mary (Blair) Watson. He was born in Leicester, January 1, 1750. He was an Ensign in 1771, in the 1st Leicester Company, Colonel John Chandler's 1st Worcester County Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Seth Washburn's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving 16 days. August 4, 1776, his commission was ordered as Second Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Green's Company (South Company in Leicester), Colonel Samuel Denny's First Worcester County Regiment. From September 27th to October 18, 1777, he was in Major Asa Baldwin's division in Colonel Samuel Denny's First Worcester County Regiment; the company marching to reinforce the Northern Army. In February 1778 he was one of the Lieutenants in the company raised in Leicester, and served in the Continental Army. March 5, 1779, he was commissioned Captain of the 5th Company in Colonel Denny's 1st Worcester County Regiment. He died in Leicester, April 13, 1828, aged 84 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JAMES WHIPPLE of Grafton, was the son of Lieutenant James and Sarah (Evans) Whipple. He was born in Grafton, November 23, 1737. He was Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Kimball's Company of Militia, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, and he served until May 18, 1775. April 15, 1776 he was chosen First Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Sherman's 10th Grafton Company, in Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment. He died in Grafton, July 28, 1808.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AARON ABBE (OR ABBY) of Hopkinton, served as Lieutenant in Captain John Homes's Company, Colonel Samuel Bullard's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. He enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain James Mellen's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment in the Provincial Army, and he served through the year under General Ward, and Colonel Jonathan Ward.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JAMES BOWMAN of Westborough, was the son of James and Thankful (Forbush) Bowman. He was born in Westborough, December 25, 1738. April 1, 1757 he was a private in Captain Benjamin Fay's Company (train band) of Westborough. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain Seth Morse's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, serving 14 days. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain Seth Morse's 6th (Westborough) Company, Colonel John Golden's 6th Worcester County Regiment.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ITHAMAR BRIGHAM of Marlborough, was the son of Thomas and Mary (Stratton) Brigham. He was born in Marlborough, October 6, 1729. He served as corporal in the 1st Marlborough Company, in Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment, August 26, 1757. July 1, 1762 he was Ensign in Captain Jesse Rice's (2nd Marlborough) Company in Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain William Brigham's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving 17 days. He may have been, and probably was, the man of that name who enlisted October 2, 1777 as a private in Captain William Morse's Company, Colonel Jonathan Reed's 6th Middlesex County Regiment, to reinforce the army under General Gates. He was discharged November 8, 1777. He was a selectman for ten years. He died in 1784.

SECOND LIEUTENANT PAUL BRIGHAM of Marlborough was the son of Thomas and Sarah (Stratton) Brigham. He was born in Marlborough, March 26, 1737. April 26, 1757 he was a private in Colonel Abra-

ham Williams's 1st Marlborough Company. On the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Barnes's Company. April 26, 1775 he enlisted under the same Captain in General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year, under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. July 5, 1776 he was commissioned Captain on the Second Marlborough Company, in Colonel Ezekiel How's 4th Middlesex County Regiment. His name appears in a list of captains "from whose companies men were drafted and marched August 20, 1777 to reinforce the army at the Northward." He had died June 4, 1777.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JONAS BROWN of Grafton was the son of Deliverance and Elizabeth Brown of Stow. He was born in the last named town, March 10, 1731. August 10, 1759, at the age of 28, as a resident of Stow he served in Colonel William Lawrence's Regiment under General Amherst in Canada. From April 2nd to December 2, 1759, as a resident of Stow, he served in Captain Leonard Whitney's Company, Brigadier General Ruggles's Regiment on an expedition to Crown Point. April 19, 1775 he marched as private in Captain Luke Drury's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, and four days later enlisted as Second Lieutenant under the same officers, serving through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward.

SECOND LIEUTENANT THOMAS DAVISON (OR DAVIDSON) of Grafton was born in Stow about 1738. April 2, 1759, as a resident of the last named town, age 21, he enlisted in Colonel William Lawrence's Regiment for service in an expedition to Lake George. September 28, 1774 he was chosen by the town authorities "to command a field-piece." He served as Second Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Kimball's Company of Minute Men, in General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775. Discharged May 18, 1775. According to a list of officers of the Massachusetts Militia commissioned in "1776," he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Nathan How's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Second Worcester County Regiment. He may have been the Thomas "Davidson" who was Second Lieutenant in Captain Jonathan

Caril's Company in April 1776, and who was reported a supernumary officer, April 9, 1779. This last named Thomas "Davidson" also served as First Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Barns's Company, Colonel Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, receiving his appointment January 1, 1777. The date of the last muster roll in which his name appears was in April 1779, dated Providence, at which time he was reported a supernumerary. Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" states that he was "omitted July 1779."

SECOND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM GATES of Worcester was born about 1735. He was a centinel in Captain Benjamin Flagg's Company, Colonel Chandler's Regiment from September 24th to October 14, 1756. From April 9th to May 21, 1758 he was in Captain John Frye's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment, and from August 10th to 18th, 1758 he was in Captain James Goodwin's Company, Colonel John Chandler, Junior's Regiment, and marched from Worcester to Sheffield. April 2, 1759, at the age of twenty-four, residence Worcester, he enlisted in Colonel John Chandler's Regiment to serve in Canada under General Amherst. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Sergeant in Captain Timothy Bigelow's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Jonas Hubbard's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment, Provincial Army. He served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. February 13, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Seth Washburn's Company which joined Colonel Josiah Whitney's additional Regiment. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Samuel Denny's 1st Worcester County Regiment, and July 17, 1776 with his company of 85 men he marched to New York under command of Colonel Jonathan Holman, to reinforce the Continental Army. In a regimental return endorsed "Chelsea Camp, Sept. 16, 1776:" his name appears as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Holman's regiment. From January 1, 1777 to the date of his resignation, November 25, 1778 he was a Captain in Colonel Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, Continental Army Mass-

achusetts Archives Continental Army Books, Vol. 18 Page 301. Heitman states that he was "omitted July 1778."

SECOND LIEUTENANT MOSES HARRINGTON of Grafton was, in all probability, the man of that name who was a member of the "Weston train band in Captain Elisha Jones' list" April 18, 1757. He was Second Lieutenant in Captain Luke Drury's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 17, 1776 his commission was ordered in the Council as Second Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Kimball's 1st Grafton Company in the 6th Worcester County Regiment. In a return made by Brigadier General Jonathan Warner, we find that he was a First Lieutenant in Captain Manassa Sawyer's Company, Colonel Nicholas Dike's "Regiment for the defense of Boston," July 27, 1776. December 1, 1776 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Nicholas Dike's Regiment, said Regiment being raised to serve until March 1, 1777. Captain Moses Harrington died in Grafton, September 8, 1784.

SECOND LIEUTENANT NATHANIEL HARWOOD of Leicester was the son of Captain Nathaniel and Hannah Harwood, and was born in Lunenberg, May 7, 1737. His father removed to Leicester. He was a private in Captain John Brown's Company, Colonel John Chandler's Regiment, serving from August 10th to 18th, 1757. He marched in this service from Leicester to Sheffield. He was a Second Lieutenant in Captain Seth Washburn's Company, Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving twelve days. In the "History of Leicester" it is stated that "he was a respectable farmer and seems to have been a man of considerable influence in the town."

SECOND LIEUTENANT LORING LINCOLN of Leicester was the son of Luke and Lydia (Loring) Lincoln. He was born in 1746. When the Lexington alarm sounded April 19, 1775 he marched as Sergeant in Captain Thomas Newhall's Company of Militia, and his name also appears as an Ensign in Captain Seth Warner's Company, General Artemas Ward's

Regiment. (Year not given, undoubtedly 1775). May 4, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Seth Washburn's Company, General Artemas Ward's 1st Regiment of the Provincial Army, and he served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Richardson's North Company in Leicester, Colonel Samuel Denny's 1st Worcester County Regiment of Militia. In a regimental return dated "Chelsea Camp, Sept. 6th, 1776:" he was called Captain in Colonel J. Holman's Regiment. April 15, 1777 he was commissioned Captain of the First Company in Colonel Denney's 1st Worcester County Regiment of Militia. Later in 1777 he was a Captain of a Company which marched under Lieutenant Colonel Flagg on the alarm at Bennington, serving five days.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ELIHU (also called ELISHA) LYMAN of Northfield was the son of Aaron and Eunice (Dwight) Lyman. He was born December 25, 1741. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Eliakim Smith's Company, Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment. In another list dated May 25, 1775 he was called Ensign in this Regiment. In a return of Captain Moses Kellogg's Company, Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment, made probably in October 1775 he was reported as "on command to Quebec." January 1, 1777 he was appointed First Lieutenant in Captain Job Alvord's Company, Colonel William Shepherd's 4th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In a muster roll of the officers of this regiment, made in 1779, he was reported "retired as a supernumerary officer" April 1st of that year. July 20, 1779 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Elisha Porter's 4th Hampshire County Regiment, serving until August 3, 1779, on an expedition to New London, Conn. He died in Greenfield September 12, 1823.

SECOND LIEUTENANT OBADIAH MANN of Wrentham was the son of Elijah and Jemima (Skinner) Mann. He was born in that town, March 4, 1737-8. As a resident of Wrentham he was a private in Captain "Cock's" Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regiment in 1758. From June 13th to November 17, 1761, he was a Sergeant in Captain Silas Brown's

Company. He served as a private in Captain Lemuel "Kollock's" Company, Colonel John Smith's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Moses Wheelock's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment in the Provincial Army, and he served under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward through the year. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment, Continental Army. He died February 4, 1825.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ABNER MILES of Shrewsbury was the son of Joseph and Jemima Miles. He was born in that town January 12, 1745. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Job Cushing's Company of Minute Men and Militia, in General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving 23 days. He removed to Putney, Vt., about 1778 and was a resident of that town in 1790.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOEL RICE of Northborough was the son of Josiah and Thankful Rice. He was born in Westborough, May 3, 1733. March 21, 1757 he was a member of the 2nd Company of Militia for Westborough commanded by Captain Bezealeal Eager. He was a private in Captain Samuel Wood's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, and marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. December 4, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Silas Gates's Company, Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiment, and was commissioned to hold that rank under the same officers, January 29, 1776.

SECOND LIEUTENANT SETH RICE of Northborough was the son of Seth and Dorothy (Robinson) Rice. He was born in Marlborough, December 22, 1727. March 21, 1757 he was a member of Captain Bezealeal Eager's 2nd Militia Company of Marlborough. April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Wood's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving 28 days. April 17, 1776 his commission was ordered as First Lieutenant in Captain Timothy Brigham's 2nd Northborough Company, Colonel John Golden's 6th

Worcester County Regiment. August 21, 1777 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in the same regiment, at the time under command of Colonel Job Cushing. From June 19th to July 13, 1778 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Aphraim Lyons's Company in Colonel Nathaniel Wade's Regiment for service at Rhode Island. September 3, 1779 he was appointed Lieutenant in Captain David Moore's Company, Colonel John Jacobs's (Light Infantry) Regiment, serving at Rhode Island until his discharge, November 18, 1779. In another list, year not given, his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Kimball's Company, which was drafted from Colonel John Golden's Regiment to join Colonel Josiah Whitney's or Colonel Nathan Sparhawk's Regiments.

SECOND LIEUTENANT THOMAS SEVER of Northborough was a Sergeant in Captain Samuel Wood's Company of Minute Men, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged under the same officers as Second Lieutenant and he served through the year under General Ward and Colonel Jonathan Ward.

ENSIGN URIAH EAGER, JUNIOR, of Marlborough was the son of Uriah and Sarah (Brigham) Eager. He was born February 5, 1740. As Uriah Eager, Junior, he was a member of the 2nd Militia Company of Marlborough commanded by Captain J. Weeks, April 7, 1757. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Ensign in Captian Cyprian How's Company, General Artemas Ward's Regiment, serving until May 4, 1775. He died in Marlborough, September 30, 1813, aged 73 years.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

THE Ipswich Historical Society has held its twenty-fifth anniversary. The anniversaries of all historical societies are interesting, but the one at Ipswich has a peculiar charm and value.

No one can pass through Ipswich—not even the traveller on the train—without seeing the quaint Whipple House with its sloping roof and gray brown clapboards. It is so strikingly picturesque, so entirely different from all houses of modern times and yet, so perfectly typical of many houses of the period in which it was built, that it catches the eye and holds the interest of even the most casual. It is in this vine clad cottage that the Ipswich Historical Society has found a permanent home and the documents and furniture of colonial times which have been donated or purchased, are here safely and appropriately preserved.

But although the Society is now so fittingly housed, it began its existence in no such delightful quarters. That which connects the society of today with the one of twenty-five years ago is its spirit of reverence for the past, and its eagerness to maintain mementoes of that past for the future.

It was on the evening of April 14, 1890, that the society was organized at the home of Reverend T. Frank Waters, who subsequently became the president, and who has ever since thrown his personal effort into the society, so tirelessly and so faithfully that it has grown steadily. Mr. John H. Cogswell was the first secretary, Mr. Charles A. Sayward, Mr. J. Increase Horton, and Mr. Cogswell, the executive committee.

For the first five years, the life of the society was maintained by meetings in which papers were read and the interest regarding this early colonial

town was constantly encouraged. Then, the membership growing and the members becoming more ambitious, the society established itself in the Odd Fellows building where the postoffice had formefly been.

Then it was that the appreciation of the historical value of Ipswich became even keener. The society placed bronze tablets at various points throughout the town to guide sight seers on pilgrimages that became more and more frequent.

In 1897 the attention of the society was called to the ancient and decaying Whipple House on Saltonstall Street. That it was an unique example of the finest colonial architecture was obvious, but that it was in a state of delapidation was equally clear. However, after an examination of its possibilities the society determined to take it and to remodel it in such a way that it would keep its old fashioned silhouette, and yet accomodate the rapidly growing collection of furniture, bric a brac and books relating to the Ipswich of two centuries ago. The purchase was made: the house was ready by October 1898, and ever since then the society has had the satisfaction of knowing that it might occupy and call its own one of the finest bits of old colonial architecture in New England.

The society has grown. At the celebration of the 25th anniversary—held from August 6 to August 18 of this year—there were 16 life members, 149 resident, 127 non-resident and 23 honorary members. It is commendable that a town so important in the history of the old Massachusetts Bay Colony, so beautiful and so rich in historic interest, should have a society to preserve and maintain its ancient legends and possessions.

ON August 9 the John Boyle O'Reilly Club gathered in Boston in formal and yet intimate meeting. It was the 25th anniversary of the death of that poet, journalist and adventurer whose breadth and liberality of mind, and whose sweetness and warmth of spirit have lastingly endeared him to

those who knew him personally and those who knew him only through his work.

It is a very remarkable thing that after a quarter of a century—when even the names on most tomb stones are becoming blurred—that a club which was founded on affection for a single individual should still be strong and unified. And it is a significant tribute that in this day of strong racial feeling that distinguished citizens like A. Shuman—a Hebrew—and Samuel J. Elder—a New Englander—should have been proud to testify to their fondness and respect to an Irishman, who was also the most loyal of Americans.

The John Boyle O'Reilly Club grew, originally, out of a committee of those of his friends and co-workers who, on his death organized with the purpose of erecting a suitable memorial to him. This memorial has now been finished and stands at the Boylston Street entrance to the Fenway—one of Daniel C. French's best pieces of work.

At this memorable meeting of a memorable club, Captain Henry C. Hathaway—he who took the exiled poet aboard his vessel,—the New Bedford Whaler the Gazelle—hoisted the American flag over him and landed him on American soil, was present. So also were Governor Walsh, Mayor Curley, Judge Charles A. DeCourcey of the Supreme Court and George F. Babbitt. It was such a meeting as this most lovable of democrats would have appreciated: many creeds and many racial and political affiliations: varying grades of social and intellectual attainment—a characteristic group to pay honor to one whose spacious nature understand all types of humanity.

Perhaps those who are too young to remember one whose genial spirit has so endeared him to the land of his adoption, may best understand him by his own lines:

> He lost no friend;
> Who loved him once, loved on to the end.
> He mourned all selfish and shrewd endeavor;
> But he never injured a weak one—never.
> When censure was passed, he was kindly dumb;
> He was never so wise but a fault would come;

He was never so old that he failed to enjoy
The games and the dreams he had loved when a boy.
He erred and was sorry; but never drew
A trusting heart from the pure and true.
When friends look back from the years to be,
God grant they may say the same of me.

That this prayer was answered is touchingly attested by the Club which bears his name and gladly perpetuates his memory.

NOTHING vitalizes a cause like a magnetic personality in its leader: and few things enhance a personality like allegiance to a striking cause. Rev. Dr. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, who at the age of ninety is still preaching, is an excellent example of both a cause and a personality. Born in Henrietta, New York, in a log cabin ninety years ago, Antoinette Brown came from the same family, on her mother's side, as did S. F. B. Morse, inventor of the electric telegraph, and has all her life been associated with brilliant and progressive people. She has been witness to all the changes produced by steam power and electric power as well as to an almost completely changed social order. At sixteen, Antoinette Brown was teaching school earning enough money to get through an academy. When she finished the academy she earned enough money to get through Oberlin College, where she met Lucy Stone, the pioneer advocate of women's rights. Later the two friends married the Blackwell brothers. But although Lucy Stone was even then ardent in the cause of suffrage for women, Antoinette Brown was seeking to accomplish the same end by different means. She determined to become an ordained minister of the gospel. She took the theological course at Oberlin—there was no rule against that—but she was not permitted a degree or ordination. And so, for the time being, she turned her attention to women's rights. At the first Woman's Suffrage Convention in Worcester, Mass., in 1850, she made an impassioned address. She is the only living survivor of that convention.

She then started out on a campaign of lecturing still cherishing the hope of securing her ordination some day. No church would defy the popular sentiment against woman preachers.

At the time of the world's first temperance convention she was invited to address the congregation. She had already proved her oratorical ability in lecturing for the suffrage cause and against slavery and she was now ready to take up temperance with equal ardor. But the convention was chiefly composed of ministers who did not like the idea of having a woman address them from the platform. They protested for three solid hours, while she stood waiting for a chance to speak. The next day the same scene was enacted. But the very conspicuousness into which she was thrust by this proceeding, reacted to her advantage. Horace Greeley and Charles A. Dana offered her a church in New York city with a salary of $1000 a year, and at the same time a smaller church in South Butler, New York, offered her their pulpit. It was in South Butler that she was ordained and took up her work. At the end of a year she resigned her pastorate because her ideas were changing and she was drifting from Congregationalism to Unitarianism. She became a sort of itinerant preacher and lecturer on abolition and woman's rights and temperance. Then in 1856, she married, had six children and wrote nine books.

Today she is still active and ardent. Although her associates are gone—Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Julia Ward Howe, she still holds fast to her convictions, to her memories and to her hopes, and still occasionally addresses a congregation in her capacity of the first woman to be ordained to the ministry in the United States.

NOT only Harvard and Cambridge, but Massachusetts and the whole United States are incalculably richer since the great gift of the Widener Memorial Library, the gift of the mother of Harry Elkins Widener, in memory of her son who was a lover of books and a graduate of Harvard and one of the victims of the Titanic disaster. This superb building—as beautiful as any Greek temple in its majestic and dignified proportions—is the largest and finest university library in the world, and only three others in this country can rank with it in size or number of volumes, these three being the Congressional Library at Washington, and the Public Libraries of New York and Boston.

But it is not merely the vast capacity of the Memorial—it will hold about 2,500,000 volumes,—that distinguishes it. It is one of the most scholarly collections of books in existence. The Congressional Library at Washington is obliged to give room to two copies of every copyrighted pamphlet and book; the British Museum must accept every printed thing that the presses offer. But the Widener Library compiles only two kinds of books—the literature of knowledge and the literature of the imagination.

Beside the books from the old Harvard library and the special collection which Mr. Widener himself took such joy in finding and purchasing, the famous theatrical memorabilia which Robert Gould Shaw has spent years in collecting, has been presented. Mr. Shaw, who graduated from Harvard in 1869, spent years collecting in England, France, and Germany and his gift included 100,000 prints, and equal number of photographs; 250,000 playbills and 10,000 autograph letters.

The Library was formally presented to the College last June at the time of the Commencement exercises, and it is impossible to estimate its value to all scholars in this country, for all time to come.

WHEN last August a thousand suffragists journeyed to West Brookfield to unveil a tablet placed upon the birthplace of Lucy Stone, an interesting personality on the history of New England was recalled. The bronze tablet bears the inscription:

THIS HOUSE
WAS THE BIRTHPLACE OF
LUCY STONE
PIONEER ADVOCATE OF EQUAL RIGHTS
FOR WOMEN
BORN AUGUST 13, 1818
MARRIED MAY 1, 1855
DIED OCTOBER 18, 1893
IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
MASSACHUSETTS SUFFRAGISTS
PLACED THIS TABLET AUGUST 13, 1915

This does, briefly, tell the significance of the tablet, but those whose memories go back half a century will realize more fully what it means. When Lucy Stone started out in her campaign of working for woman's suff-

rage it was indeed a pioneer task and she was a most conspicuous figure. Her marriage into the Blackwell family did not impede her career any more than did Antoinette Brown's marriage into the same family impede hers. They both labored tirelessly for the object nearest their hearts, and had the satisfaction of seeing their labors bear fruit—at least in the western part of the country.

On the day of the unveiling of the memorial tablet, almost a hundred years after her birth, the house was decked with yellow and white bunting —the suffrage colors—and so also were the automobiles that came from many nearby cities and towns.

Prominent speakers in the suffrage cause addressed the gathering who represented many states in the Union. Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Lucy Stone, turned the first sod for the planting of the campaign evergreen tree, and unveiled the tablet.

SENTIMENT and reminiscence were both stirred last summer by the dismantling and destruction of the once famous sloop-of-war Portsmouth. Launched at the Portsmouth navy yard in 1843, and towed back there in 1915, she was sold for her junk for a few thousand dollars, and was then burned. The Portsmouth began her romantic career seventy years ago by taking possession of San Francisco Bay during the war with Mexico; by going with Commodore Perry to Japan; by reducing the barrier forts at Canton, and assisting Farragut at New Orleans. Then gradually she was superceded by the modern armored war ship. She became a coast survey vessel, a training ship and finally a hospital boat.

But in spite of her historic career no historical society could be found which was willing to maintain and preserve her, although many individuals and newspapers protested against her violent end, and for a while it was rumored that either San Francisco, or Portsmouth, New Hampshire, would take her. But no one coming forward, she was stripped of her metal, set fire to, the photographers and moving picture men her most faithful attendants at this final and spectacular ceremony.

EDITORS of the Massachusetts Magazine:

I have read in the *New York Times* an editorial which very much meets my approval regarding the manner in which Massachusetts should *not* celebrate in 1920 the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth.

It would be a tragic pity to let this time and opportunity be lost forever, to build an adequate memorial to those heroic figures who exerted through their posterity so great an influence on American history.

This great "melting pot" of ours is getting so full and bubbling so hard, there may not be enough of the original stock left to influence any special interest in the quadricentennial celebration a hundred years hence. There is so much new literature today such as "The Conquering Jew," by John Foster Fraser, "The Scotch Irish in America" by Henry Jones Ford (with their large claims for what the Jews and the Scotch Irish have done for America) and "The Other Side of the Revolution" by James H. Stark; so much criticism of our national hymns; and such frequent demand from the immigrant-American for revision and deletion of our school text books, that perchance the accepted historians of today may be entirely superceded by the year 2020. It is not difficult to imagine that traditions accepted today may become totally discredited on the safe assertion that there is "no evidence to substantiate it," and the accepted version may be a new "true story" of the Pilgrims; in fact, the American people of that age may not care to observe the 400th anniversary *at all*—may in fact, decide to forget it!

Therefore, I say, Messrs. editors, let the State of Massachusetts establish some noble heroic memorial to these men that will be a beacon of remembrance and education to not only our own offspring, but to the new Americans whom it is our duty to assimilate, and inspire as best we may with some of our own reverence for the men who settled Plymouth Colony.

I do not think such a memorial should be at Plymouth or at Boston. I think it should be planted in Massachusetts Bay, where it would, in colossal proportions, proclaim its message to every incoming ship, and afar to every coast wise vessel passing up and down the New England Coast—of which there are said to be 70,000 every year. It should be large enough

to be seen from every eminence in each village and town on the bay, from Provincetown to Rockport.

Build of concrete and steel, and build in such enormous magnitude that it will be likened to the Colossus of Rhodes, the Olympian Jupiter at Athens, or the eternal Pyramids in Egypt.

Perhaps a Puritan, somewhat after St. Gaudens statue at Springfield, would be the best selection for such a titanic figure.

But I can think of no more original and suitable subject for such a memorial than the Mayflower itself—the most important ship that ever floated on the bosom of the Atlantic, judged in the light of the history that has been made in its wake.

There are several inspiring models of the little ship which might be used. I take the liberty of enclosing two herewith, which I hope you may find of enough interest to publish with this letter.

There are several small unimportant islands in Boston harbor which could be taken for this monument, just as an island was taken for Bar-

tholdi's Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. If built on a low foundation and built as high as the Woolworth tower in New York (750 feet) either of these designs would at a distance have the appearance of a ship lying naturally at anchor.

I am not sure but that the sculptor's genious could plan a walled elevation which would allow spaces for mammoth pictures in *bas relief*, (or possibly in colored glass) depicting such scenes as Weir's admirable painting in the rotunda of the Capital at Washington, showing the humble group on their knees in prayer, before the final departure from Holland; the signing of the compact; the landing, etc.

The outlines of the ship could be lighted by electric lights at night and possibly the scenes in stained glass could be illuminated from within. These could be such works of art that one of the features of "doing Boston" would be a twenty-five cent trip down the harbor on special motor boats to see these pictures; and every excursion steamer would go out of its course to pass near, day or night.

The educational potentialities of this plan would be almost without limit because the interior of the enormous hull could be developed into one of the most interesting museums in the world. To begin with a statue in right proportions of every man, woman and child of the 101 passengers could be put aboard; Standish, Brewster, Bradford, Carver, Winslow, being among the first. Every Mayflower family organization in the country being invited to contribute what it conceived to be a composite family likeness of each of the other passengers.

In a gallery arranged for the purpose could be a series of oil paintings or mural decorations, portraying a part of the Pilgrims story not so familiar to the public as Weir's painting, and later incidents of the Pilgrim movement; i.e:

(*a*) An imaginative picture of the manor house at Scrooby, in North Nottinghamshire, where gathered the first dissenters.

(*b*) Another, of the ruins visitors to the spot see today.

(*c*) An imaginative picture of the deposed Clifton and John Robinson as preachers, and Bradford and Brewster among the attendants at a meeting in the parlor of the former's home.

(*d*) Several pictures to show the determination of the "fool king" to harry them out of the country—spying on their houses; arresting; imprisoning.

(*e*) The attempt to leave for Holland to rid themselves of the persecution—the arrest in the night of the whole company, after their goods were on the ship.

(*f*) The later flight in the Dutchman's vessel, when they had to leave half their number on shore to escape the King's officers.

(*g*) Pictures of their peaceful life at Amsterdam and Leyden—the University—Brewster the printer—the new adherents to their cause; Carver and his bride, Winslow and his bride, and Standish the soldier.

(*h*) Their departure from Delft Haven in the Speedwell.

Then a still more dramatic and expressive means of impressing the minds of school children (who doubtless would pilgrimage to such a place in bodies every week of the school year) and the dimmest intelligences of even those who could not speak our language, would be to arrange tableaux in plaster or in wax figures, showing many of the thrilling scenes of hardship and adventure, which the Pilgrims passed through after they had settled on New England"s shores; such as building the first houses; the welcome of the Indian Samoset ; the trip up the shore of Miles Standish and party in a shallop ; the brush with the frightened Indians in ambush; finding of the dismantled summer camp and the buried corn, some of the sad scenes that attended the sickness of all but six of the party, and the death of one-half their number during that first winter.

In a word: Such a series of life-sized figure-pictures as will show the dull and the indifferent that this free country as it stands *cost something* in sacrifice and endeavor.

The first exclamation at this proposal will be its cost. But I doubt not that the bare statue itself could be built at less than two-thirds what would eventually be expended on a great industrial exposition, which seems to have been the most talked of suggestion heretofore.

The bas relief, mural decorations, stained glass, tableaux and entire interior, could be the work of years hence. It is well known that many of the world's memorials, mausoleums, and cathedrals have been the work of scores of years, before final completion.

Hoping that the stout-hearted will not take too seriously the pessimism I allowed myself to resort to in the beginning of this letter, I beg

to subscribe myself to this sentiment of Roger Walcott: "May God in His mercy, grant that the moral impulse which founded this nation may never cease to control its destiny."

HENRY W. WHITE

Boston, Oct. 13, 1915.

THE editorial referred to, in the *New York Times* was as follows:

"There is still a strong disposition in Massachusetts to celebrate in 1920 the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers by holding at Plymouth a world's industrial exhibition on a very large scale. Plans for the erection of certain permanent structures to house the exhibits and the machinery are now under consideration. The American imagination, as far as celebrations are concerned, seems unable to get beyond the exposition idea. Yet we know that the minds of many of the foremost New Englanders are already at work on the scheme for the celebration of this anniversary, second to none in interest. It seems that a better idea may yet be hit upon. There have been too many world's fairs already and the world has grown tired of them. The memory of the Founders of New England is not chiefly associated with material progress. A world's fair represents little more. It seems that music and the fine arts and pageantry combined might be used to better purpose in celebrating the landing of those stern men who sought a distant home in the unknown wilds for freedom to worship God in their own way.

"Yet whether or not the New Englanders are able to conceive and put in execution a better plan for their celebration than an industrial exhibition, it is not to be doubted that the whole country will be stirred by the event. Since 1876 we have had no national anniversary to celebrate the appeal of which is so strong and so general. Descendants of the Pilgrims carried their traits and their zeal all over the country. They blazed the great trails. The anniversary will have much more than sectional significance. All the more reason why the celebration should be worthy of the occasion. There are four more years for preparation, and we shall continue to hope that the exhibition idea will give way to a less conventional and more appropriate plan."

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